

THE
New Association.

PART II.

With farther Improvements.

As Another and Later

Scots Presbyterian-Covenant,

Besides that mention'd in the *Former Part.*

And the Proceedings of that *Party* since.

An Answer to some *Objections* in the

Pretended *D. Foe's* EXPLICATION,

In the REFLECTIONS upon the

SHORTEST WAY.

With REMARKS upon Both.

Also an Account of several other *Pamphlets*, which carry on, and plainly
Discover the Design to Undermine and Blow-up the Present Church and
Government.

PARTICULARLY,

The Discovery of a certain *Secret History*,

Not yet Publish'd.

With a Short Account of the *Original of Government*, Compar'd with
the *Schemes of the Republicans and Whigs.*

The Second Edition with Additions.

Printed and Sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1705.
Price One Shilling.

THE

RECORD

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

LEGISLATURE

OF THE

STATE

OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE

AND

ASSEMBLY

FOR THE

SESSION

OF 1881

AND 1882

CONTENTS

O F

P A R T II.

I. A Nother Scots-Presbyterian Covenant in O ^r ob. 1702.	Page. 1
II. Further Proceedings of the Faction in Scotland.	p. 3
III. Answer to Objections in several Pamphlets, against the First Part.	p. 6
IV. Their Vile Reflections upon the Church.	p. 7
Upon Arch-Bishop Laud.	p. 8
Upon K. Char. I.	p. ibid.
Upon Q. Eliz.	p. 10
A Politick as to the Treatment of Dissenters.	p. ibid.
V. No Severities Intended against the Dissenters.	p. ibid.
VI. The Manage of our Princes, in Relation to Popery.	p. 11
VII. A Notable Defence of Occasional Conformity.	p. 12
VIII. Of Local and Mental Communion.	p. 13
IX. Of Schism.	p. 14
Their Excuses to Justify themselves from it.	p. ibid.
1. First, for their Ministers.	p. 15
Wherein of their Private Academies.	p. ibid.
2. The Case of their People.	p. 16
Wherein of the Ordination of their Ministers.	p. 17
Of their Doctrines.	p. 18
Of Reprobation, and Predestination.	p. ibid.
Of Assurance.	p. 20
X. Corruption in DOCTRINE has always follow'd any Infraction upon the GOVERNMENT of the Church.	p. 21
XI The Toleration do's not take away the Sin of Schism.	p. 22

The CONTENTS.

Concerning <i>Occasional Conformity</i> , in times of <i>Popery</i> . And in <i>Subscribing</i> the 39 Articles.	p. <i>ibid.</i>
XII. Of the <i>Secret History</i> .	p. 24
XIII. Compar'd with the <i>Presbyterian Sincerity</i> towards K. <i>Char. I.</i>	p. 26
XIV. How this <i>Leven</i> works. And of their <i>Popular Schemes</i> of Government.	p. 28
XV. Of the <i>Notion</i> , That <i>Schism</i> is only in <i>Essentials</i> .	p. 30
XVI. Apply'd to the <i>State</i> .	p. 31
XVII. Why <i>Forty One</i> Remember'd.	p. 32
XVIII. Instances before <i>Forty One</i> , in the <i>Reign</i> of K. <i>Jam. I.</i>	p. <i>ibid.</i>
XIX. The <i>Pope</i> and the <i>Presbyterians</i> have Hurt the <i>Spiritual Power</i> of the <i>Church</i> , by their <i>Usurping</i> upon the <i>Civil Power</i> .	p. 34
XX. The <i>Use</i> of Looking into <i>Former Times</i> .	p. <i>ibid.</i>
XXI. The <i>Terrible Effects</i> of <i>Popular Revolutions</i> .	p. 35
XXII. How the <i>Usurpation</i> of <i>Forty One</i> Concluded <i>Happily</i> at <i>Last</i> .	p. 37

Contents of the Supplement.

I. THE Rabling of an <i>Episcopal Meeting</i> at <i>Glasgow</i> , in Contempt of Her Majesty's Gracious Letters.	p. 39
II. A full Answer to Mr. LOCK's Two Treatises of Government. And all Others who Assert the Power of the People. With a Short Account of the Original of Political Government, in the first Division of Nations after the Flood.	p. 41
A Defence of <i>Bribing</i> .	p. 51
III. Some more of the Proceedings in <i>Scotland</i> .	p. 53
IV. Of the <i>Toleration</i> .	p. 54
V. Of the Centre of Government.	p. 56
VI. The Continu'd Practices of the <i>Faction</i> . Wherein, Of the <i>Burning</i> of <i>London</i> . And of our <i>Ships</i> at <i>Chatbam</i> .	p. 57 p. <i>ib.</i> p. 59
VII. Application of the <i>Whole</i> .	p. 60
N. B. That what is said be Understood of <i>Parties</i> , not of particular Persons.	p. 62

d in Sub-
p. ibid.
p. 24
Char. I.
p. 26
Govern-
p. 28
p. 30
p. 31
p. 32
p. ibid.
ower of
p. 34
p. ibid.
p. 35
t Last.
p. 37

pt. of
p. 39
d all
count
Nati-

p. 41
p. 51
p. 53
p. 54
p. 56
p. 57
ib.
59
60
par-
62

HE

[12]

THE
New Association.
PART II. &c.
With farther Improvements.

IN the Supplement of the *New Association* you have the *Scotch-Presbyteri-
an-Covenant* lately Begun and Sign'd at *Edinburgh*, which is in the
Shire of *Lothian*, and the Place where that *Provincial Synod* is held.
I now present you with that since Fram'd and Sign'd at *Glasgow*, by
the other *Provincial Synod* Assembled there, last *October*, 1702. Which
follows in these Words,

Octob. 1702. ACT of the Synod of *GLASGOW* and *AIR*.

THE Synod of *Glasgow* and *Air*, taking to their Considerati-
on the Deplozable want of Success of the Gospel, in the
Gracious Holy Faith, as might be Expected, and also the
Prevalency of the Kingdom of Darkness through the abun-
dance of Atheism, Impiety and Profaneness, the Vane of this
Degenerate Age; notwithstanding of our merciful Enjoyment of
the Purity of Ordinances since the happy Revolution, and that
the Ministers of the Gospel, particularly in these Bounds, have
ben expos'd to the mistakes of many weak and well-meaning
People, as if they did not maintain a just Zeal for the true Pres-
byterian Principles, whereby their Edification hath been hazarded
in the Dispensation of the Gospel-Ordinances; As also how neces-
sary it is for the Ministers of Christ, in order to the prevailing of
his

I.
The Scots
Presbyteri-
an Cove-
nant.

His Kingdom to be Zealously and Affectionately United for the Preservation of the Doctrine, Worship, Discipline and Government of the Church, which the Lord hath Remarkably own'd since the Reformation of Religion in these Lands, unto the Conversion of many Souls, and Edification of his own People in the most Holy Faith; And lastly, That a motion of this kind hath been for some time, lying under the Synods Consideration, therefore the Synod doth earnestly intreat, beseech and obtest to all the Ministers within their Bounds with the Reverend Eldership to be Contentiously Zealous in Reforming of Profanity and Ungodliness, and to hold Hand to the Execution of the several Acts of Assembly, former Acts of the Synod, and Acts of Parliament made there anent, that the mis-led People, and the World may know our Constancy to the true Principles of the Covenanted Work of Reformation in this Land.

We the Ministers of this Synod do declare our Adherence to the Doctrine, Worship and Discipline of Presbyterian Government, and just Rights of the Church in Opposition to Popery, Heresie, Error, Prelacy, Erastianism, Schism, and Profanity, and whatsoever is contrary to sound Doctrine and Godliness, and Promise through the Grace of God we will Persevere in our Adherence to the same, all the Days of our Life. And the Synod Recommends to, and appoints, the several Presbyteries within their Bounds, with the first Conveniency to met on a Day to be set apart for Humiliation, mutual Up-stirring and Prayer, that the Lord may graciously avert deserved Wrath, pour out a Spirit of Repentance and Reformation, and make the Inhabitants of the Land a People prepar'd for the Lord, and particularly that the Lord would bless and preserve Her Majesty's Person and Government to be a lasting Mercy to these Lands and the Churches of Christ therein, and that this Act being insert in the several Presbyterie Books within this Synod, and subscribed by every Minister on the foresaid appointed Day, and by every Entrant to the Ministry, in time coming immediately after their Ordination.

The Synod appoints that every Presbyter take a Copy of the foresaid Act with them, in order to the Expediting the Contents thereof, and the Clerks be allow'd to give their several Correspondency from our Synod, A Copy thereof.

Let me here Add a short Account of the further Proceedings of that *Faction*, which came in a Letter from an Honest and Understanding Gentleman at *Edinburgh*, Dated Dec. 5. 1702. as follows:

II.
Further
Proceed-
ings of the
Faction in
Scotland.

" The Presbyterians here, are Mightily afraid of QUEEN ANN;
" And, as I hear, have their Partisans, the Young Preachers, Employ'd
" to go through the Country, and at Afternoons, or Evening-Meetings,
" to preach up the Doctrine of RESISTANCE. They Brag loudly of
" their Strength, and that if any thing should be done to their Preju-
" dice, they have Six and Twenty Thousand good Men to own their
" Cause and Quarrel. Though no body believes it, for to say the Truth,
" they have not gain'd Ground since this Revolution: And at their
" Best before it, you know, they were not able to Raise the half of
" that Number: And at present the generality of the People have not
" that Esteem of them as before. In *Fife*, I can Assure you the Great
" Body of the Gentry are downright *Episcopal*, and have chosen Com-
" missioners that way Inclind, one of them, viz. B——n of B——r,
" who was never in any *Presbyterian* Church. In several Shires when
" it was propos'd to give their Commissioners Instructions that there
" shou'd be no Alteration of the Church-Government, it was waved or
" Rejected, &c.

And in a Letter which I have seen from thence of a later Date, it is said, That in several Places, they have not only given Instructions to their Commissioners (or Representatives) but exacted their Promise to Vote for the Restoration of *Episcopacy*, &c.

But that the Spirit of the *Faction* does Rage, in a manner unknown before. That the last 30th of January the Mob got up at *Glasgow*, and Insulted the *Episcopal* Meetings for keeping that Day in Memory of the King's Martyrdom, and were rather Countenanc'd than Corrected by the *Presbyterian* Magistrates and Ministers. At *Edinburgh*, the *Episcopal* Minister who Preach'd that Day in one of their Private-Meetings, calling the King a Martyr, and saying he was in Heaven, a *Presbyterian* there cryed out, You may look for him in Hell, for such a Tyrant cou'd not go to Heaven. They never offer'd the like in all the Last Reign. But now do it on purpose to Affront the Queen, whom they suppose to Retain some Veneration for the Memory of Her Grandfather, and consequently of his Principles. They tell Her plain enough their Love to Her. They Trust not a Word She says. They are Resolv'd——

This then is the State of the *Faction* There (as it is Here) *Implacable* in their *Principles*, and *Indefatigable* in their *Endeavours*: But *Terrible* only in their *Noise*, unless that *frighten* the *Government* to give Way to them, till they obtain that *Power*, which they now vainly *Boast* that they have.

And since they put the *Issue* upon the *Inclinations* of the *People*; Let that be the *Issue*.

Let the *Representatives* of both *Nations* in *Parliament* Assembled, give the *Queen* their *Advice*; and let no *Private Faction* or *Party* have *Power* to *Perswade* Her *Majesty* to take *Measures* contrary to that; or to believe, That there can be a truer way to know the *Inclinations* of the *People*.

She has *Granted* them a *Free-Election* of their *Representatives* in *Parliament*; (which they cou'd never obtain in all the last *Reign*) and to pretend, That these so *Chosen*, cannot let Her know the true *Sense* of Her *People*; is to say, That it was not a *Free Election*. And then! When shall we have such an one?

If we see a *Neighbour Prince* Arming *Extraordinarily* in time of *Peace*, entering into *Leagues* and *Confederacies*, &c. the *Wisdom* and *Policy* of *Nations* obliges any within his *Reach*, to enquire into the *Matter*, and even to *Demand* a *Reason* for such *Preparations*; though they have no *Authority* over him, and every *King* and *State* are *Independent*, and *Unaccountable* to any *Foreign Prince* or *Power* for what they do in their own *Dominions*.

How much more *Necessary* is it for any *Government* to Watch the *Designs* and *Combinations* of their own *Subjects*, when they take upon them to enter into *Covenants* and *Associations* by their own *Authority*, without the *Supreme Power*! Such are always *Construed* to be intended against the *Government Establish'd*; especially where it is made *Treasonable* by the *Law* of the *Land*. (as it is in this *Case*, and very particularly in *Scotland*) to enter into such *Associations*; there the doing of it, is in *Direct Opposition* to the *Government*, it is a *Declaration of War* against it, and openly throwing off its *Authority*.

And betwixt that, and downright *Attacking* of the *Government*, as soon as they can be ready, there is no possible *Medium*; because, otherwise they cannot be *Safe*. They who have *Forfeited* their *Lives* to the *Government*, cannot be *Safe*, but in its *Destruction*. I mean such as are resolv'd not to *Repent*, but to *Persist* in what they have done.

Which these *Scotch-Covenanters* have declar'd to be their *Case*, and that it shall go on and continue throughout all their *Generations*, they *Promise* in this their *New-Covenant*, *We will persevere in our Adherence to the same all the Days of our Life*: And ordain it to be *Subscrib'd* by every *Minister*

Minister on the appointed Day, and by every Entrant to the Ministry, in time to come, immediately after their Ordination. So that this Covenant is now made to them (by their own Authority) of the same Obligation and Perpetuity as the Oath of Supremacy is, in our Ordinations, by the Supream Authority of the Nation.

They tell us what the *Work* is, which they are carrying on, even the *Covenanted Work of Reformation*. This is their former *Solemn League and Covenant*: And then we know what we are to Expect! They *Engage* themselves to be *Contentiously Zealous* in it. We may take their Words! As far as their *Power* Reaches. — Therefore let them have *Power*.

But do they Promise any *Obedience* to the *Queen*? No. Not a word of that — But they *Pray*, That she may be a *lasting Mercy* to these *Lands*, and the *Churches of Christ* therein. That is, that she may turn *Presbyterian*: And bring their *Covenant* into *England*, as fast as they can, to *Perfekt* what another had begun. Otherwise —

We know whom they mean by the *Churches of Christ*, who declare *Episcopacy* to be *Anti-Christian*.

And who their *Under-Spur-Leathers* are, who, (out of *Moderation*!) Refuse to Acknowledge *Episcopacy* to be of *Divine* or *Apostolical* Right. But they only meant their *Own*! and Employ'd one *Naturally Addicted* — to *Fish* for a *Pramunire* (which he had found — if they had taken his *Word*) to serve for an *Excuse*. Who can prove the *Church of England* to be a *Persecuting Church*: And yet will not leave Her! But has already wrote a most *Virulent* and *Voluminous Secret History* (part of which I have seen) which he dares not Publish whilst it may be disprov'd, and he receive his *Just Reward*: But intends to leave it as a *Legacy* and *Libel* against the *Church* and the *Crown*.

When such our *Enemies*, and such our *Guards*, we cannot forget who gave us these *Watch-men*. And what will become of us, if we be not put (as it can be done) into other *Hands*.

They have already *Began* (as told in the *Letter* before-mention'd) to *Preach* up the *Doctrine of Resistance*, at their *Afternoons*, or *Evening-Meetings*, which is an *Exercise* they have there, call'd *Repetition*, and enjoin'd through all their *Families* to *Repeat* over the Substance of the *Sermons* they had heard that Day at *Church*, or to *Read* them *Verbatim* they that can *Write* taking them in *Short-hand*. And several *Families* will come together, for this *Exercise*. Where they have likewise other *Exhortations* made to them by their *Young Ministers*, who here *Flesh* their *Gifts*, to *harden* them for the *Publick*. These are the most proper *Meetings* for *Insinnuation*: For they have *eating* and *drinking*, &c. Here they begin to *Instil* their *Poison*; not to *Teach* them the *Doctrine of Resistance*,
for

for that is their Avow'd Principle, here, and there, and every where; but to confirm them in it, to hearten up the Good Women, who led the Mobb in Forty One, and give them the Watch-Word.

*As Indians with the Female
Tame Elephant, inveigle the Male.*

III.
Answer to
Objections
of Several
Pamphlets
against
the First
Part.

Having given you this short Account of the Proceedings of the Faction in Scotland, since my last; I come now to Answer some Objections have been made against the New Association. First, by the Author of *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*, in what he calls *A brief Explanation* of the said Pamphlet. And then by another of the same Faction, in his *Reflections upon The Shortest Way*, &c. This *Shortest Way* is a New Engine of the Faction, being wrote in the Stile of a Churchman, with an Air of Wit and a great deal of Truth; which they thought would make the Severity to Pass as coming from the Church-Party, to have the Dissenters Treated according to what he had prov'd to be their Deserts, that is, the Preachers to be sent to the Gallows, and the Hearers to the Gallies. The *Observer*, Vol. II. makes the Author a Clergy-man.

By this they contriv'd to Alarm all the Faction to the uttermost, as if their Toleration were to be taken away; and then a cruel Persecution coming upon them; by which they thought to prepare the Mobb for what farther Service they had for them to do. And withal, to Blacken the Church Party, as Men of a Persecuting Spirit. And indeed it had this Effect all over the Town, among all sorts of People; none of whom, that I could meet with, or hear of, did imagine it could be wrote by a Whigg; and I have heard one, and then another of the Church-Party guess'd at for the Author. The Church-Men did Blame him exceedingly: The Whiggs and Dissenters (who were not in the Secret) did Curse him and Rail at him; and made their Advantage of it against the Church.

But when, by the Care of the Government, the Author was found out, and prov'd to be of the Faction, they would fain now deny him, and say that he is none of *Theirs*; they would let him be a Church-Man now; but he is too well kown in the City to have that Pass.

And this appears plainly by the Excuse he makes for himself in his *Explication*. Wherein he wou'd turn the Tables, and lay the whole Blame upon the Church-Party. He says, That what he wrote, was only an Irony, viz. in Personating some of these Violent Church-Men; and that he speaks their True Sense and Meaning, though Ironically. Among others, he Names the New Association, and says, p. 3. "Any Gentlemen who have Patience to peruse the Author of the New Association, will

" will find Gallows, Galleys, Persecution, and Destruction, of the Dissenters as directly Pointed at, as fairly Intended and Design'd, as in the *Shortest Way*, had it been Real, can be Pretended.

Here he Confesses, That the *Shortest Way* was not Real. This Clears the Church-Party from it: And shews the Author not to have been Really a Church-Man.

But as to the Gallows and Galleys, Destruction and Persecution of the Dissenters, which he finds in the *New-Association*, he and the rest of them must own it to be an Errant Lye of their own making; unless they will confess, That they had as liev be Hang'd as not be in Power. For nothing else is propos'd in that Pamphlet. Not so much as their Toleration is Invaded. Only, that they should not be Truſted in the Legislature, for the Reasons there given. Which they pretend not to Answer, or to Quote one Word in the *New-Association*. But Rail at it in the General (after their usual Method) that some may Believe them, who have not Opportunity to Examine.

The Reflections upon *The Shortest Way*, speaking in his Preface of this Proposal of the Author's of Hanging up the Dissenting Ministers, adds, " The Author of the *New-Association* betwixt the Dissenters and Moderate Church-Men, &c. gives a Charge which would Subject both those Parties to the like Cruel Treatment.

But he tells not what that Charge was. Nor did that Author Plead at all for having that Faction Treated according to their Deserts. But only, from what they had done Before, and still are a Doing, That they shou'd not be Truſted Now, to Play the same Game over again.

And this same Pamphlet is a New and Strong Argument for this; and shews that the Faction is not Mended, but as Sowr Ale in Summer. For these Reflections are a Medly and Heap of all the Vile, and most Detestable Lyes and Aspersions cast upon the Church, and the Royal Martyr King Charles I. in those Cursed Times of Schism and Rebellion: Here they are Repeated with new Venom and Acrimony. And though all these Gross Falshoods have been Answer'd, over and over again Disprov'd, to the stopping of all Reply; yet that cannot prevail to the Silencing of Tongues set on Fire of Hell! Who are resolv'd to Lye still on, and take Notice of no Answer, tho' made Clear to a Demonstration; which has no other Effect with them, than a little Water thrown into a Boyling Furnace, to make the Smoke and Flame burst out the more Outragiously! This is the Effect that Truth has when cast before those who are Proof against Conviction! It Redoubles their Rage, even to Madness! They Fret themselves, and Curse their King, and their God, and look Upwards! Isa. viii. 21. See

IV.
Their
Vile Re-
flections
upon the
Church.

Upon
Arch-Bi-
shop Laud.

See how the *Gall* of *Milton's Amanuensis* boils over in his p. 16, 17, &c. Running Riot and Repeating, at full Gallop, the *Senceless* and *Malicious Stories*, Rais'd by the *Faction* against the *English Cyprian* and *Martyr*, the Great Arch-Bishop *Laud*! They cannot endure, that any shou'd be call'd a *Martyr*, whom they have *Murth'er'd*! They wou'd make him a *Papist*, who *Wrote* the best against *Popery* of any in the Age; More effectually than All that ever *Wrote* of the *Dissenters*; except their *Railing*, and Calling the *Pope* a *Whore*! Nay they have the *Impudence*, as here, p. 16. and p. 25. to Quote this very *Celebrated Work* of his against *Fisher* the *Jesuit*; for a *Proof* of his being a *Papist*; to render themselves *Ridiculous* to all Men of *Sense* or *Learning*!

His *Dying Sermon* upon the *Scaffold* clearing himself from this *False* and *Groundless Imputation* of *Popery*, makes no *Impression* upon these *Saints*! Who wou'd have every thing they say to be *Believ'd* upon their own *Words*!

Upon
K. Char. I.

But when they are upon *Land*, they cou'd not Miss another *Martyr* they had made, that is, his *Royal Master K. Charles I.* Whom, p. 17. they *Bespatter* for sending the *Irish Cut-Throats* (as they call them) to join *Montrose* in *Scotland*. Can *Patience* hold out to see these *Rebels*, past *Shame*, to *Upbraid* their *King*, for taking the Assistance of his own *Subjects*, against that *Furious* and *Un-Natural Rebellion* of the *Covenant*, which had *Fill'd* three *Nations* with *Blood* and *Destruction*! Such *Rebels*, as sent to the

* See the * *French King* to Invite his *Assistance*, and put themselves under his *Protection*, against their own *Natural* and *Protestant Prince*! And when their *Letters* to the *French King* were *Intercepted*, and their *Chief Managers* in *Prison* upon that Account; Were *Releas'd*, and no further *Prosecution* of that *Damnable Treason*; but were afterwards *Preferr'd* to the *Greatest Places* and *Trusted* by the *Faulty* and *Fatal Clemency* of their *Deluded* and too *Gracious King* for them! Who have given *Many* and *Repeated Proofs*, as many as ever came in their *Way*, since first they came out of the *Cockatrice Egg*, That it is not this manner of *Treatment* will do with *Them*.

The *King* must be a *Papist*, for *Employing* some of his own *Subjects*, tho' *Papists*, in *Conjunction* with a *Protestant Army*, and under a *Protestant General*, against a *Company* of *Covenanted Rebels*: Yet it must be no *Objection* against them, to Invite over a *Foreign Prince*, and a *Papist*, even *France* it self, against their own *King* and *Country*!

But it was most natural for the *Solemn League* of *Scotland* to go for *Succour* to the *Holy League* of *France*, whence it was *Transcrib'd*; And *Pursu'd* with a *Zeal* far exceeding the *Popish Pattern*.

And

And as for those few *Rom. Catholicks* of *England*, whom the *King* employ'd in his *Army*, and for which the *Faction* then in *Rebellion*, rais'd *Clamours* against him, his *Majesty* in his *Answer to the Petition of the Commissioners of the General Assembly*, *March 20. 1642.* says, That there were *Many more Papists*, and many of those *Foreigners* (besides *Brownists*, *Anabaptists*, and other *Sectaries*) in the *Rebels Army*, than in that of his *Majesty*. And they cou'd not *Deny* it.

Lord Clarendon's
Hist. Book
VI. Vol. 2.
p. 138.
See p. 142.

See now the *Modesty* of these *Men*! It must be a *Fault* in the *King* to have any *Papists*, tho' of his own *Subjects*, in his *Army* against these *Saints*, pursuant to their *Bounden Duty* and *Allegiance*: And yet these same *Rebels*, without a *Blush*, cou'd seduce what *Papists* they cou'd of their *Fellow-Subjects* (besides *Inviting* over the *Foreign Papists*) to break thro' their *Oaths* and *Allegiance*, as themselves before had done, and *Join* with Them in that *Cursed Rebellion* against their *King*, and for *Pulling down* the *Church of England*!

Nay more, it was no *Rebellion* in Them, to *Invite* over a *Foreign Popish Power* to *Invade* their *Native Country*, and subject these *Kingdoms* to the *Power* of *France*, for the *Good Old Cause*: And yet it must be *Rank Popery* in the *King*, when only *Prince of Wales*, and in the *Hands* of the *King of Spain*, to *Answer* a *Civil Letter* of the *Pope* to him, wherein he maintain'd the *Principles* of the *Church of England*, and declar'd his *Firmness*, to continue in them, against all the *Insinuations* and *Invitations* given him to the contrary, but without calling the *Pope*, a *Whore* and a *Beast*, only giving him that *Stile*, by which he is *Distinguish'd* in the *World*, as other *Princes* are, and which in the *Primitive Church* was given to all *Bishops*, as belonging to their *Sacred Office*, though some of them far from *Personally* deserving it, And without which he cou'd not have return'd any *Answer* to the *Pope*; And then there had been a *New* and a *Greater Objection*, That his *Highness* was *Silent* in the *Defence* of his *Religion*, and had nothing to say for it; which wou'd have given great *Scandal* *Abroad*, and been much more *improy'd* by the *Faction* against him at *Home*, as a *Deserting* and *Dishonouring* of his *Religion*! Thus is it *impossible* to *Pleaze* *Men*, who are resolv'd to *Quarrel*; and will lay that upon others, as a *Crime*, of which *Themselves* are ten-fold more *Guilty*, and much more *Notoriously*! They who make no *Scruple* of giving to the *King of Spain* the *Stile* of *Catholick Majesty*, and to the *French* of *Most Christian*, and invite his *Arms* to *Defend* the *Protestant Religion*, will yet *Quarrel* with a young *Prince*, when under a necessity of returning an *Answer* to the *Pope*, to give him the *Stile* of *Holiness*, (which truly belongs to his *Office*, as a *Bishop*) when otherwise he cou'd not have *Rejected* his *Offers*, for the *Change* he *Propos'd* to him of his *Religion*! And his *Persevering* in his *Religion* to the *Uttermost*, against all *Temptations*, and under the *Sharpest*

Afflictions, and at last *Dying a Martyr* for it, must be no *Justification* of him, from being a *Papist*, because of this *Letter* to the *Pope*, before he came to the *Crown*; and wherein nothing favouring of *Popery*, but the *Direct Contrary*, cou'd be found, except giving to the *Pope* his *Usual*, and not, in its self, an *Un-proper Stile*!

Upon Q.
Eliz.

But it is some *Vindication* of this our late *Dread Sovereign*, of *Arch-Bishop Laud*, and all whom they have *Traduc'd*, that they spare none who come in their way, who *Worship* not their *Dagon*, or *Touch* but the *Shrine* of their *Diana*, They fall foul here upon *Q. Eliz.* her self, p. 23. because of her *Prosecution of the Puritans*. But foolishly put it upon the *Advice* of those, who favour'd the *Infanta's* title against the *King of Scots*. And make it a *General Rule*, That it ever has been the *Method* of that *Party*, who were for a *Popish Successor and Arbitrary Power*, to pave their way by *promoting Severities* against *Protestant Dissenters*, that whilst the *Church* and they were *Engag'd* against one another, the *common Enemy* might take their *Advantage* of both. But this is giving Us just the wrong view as well of *Politicks*, as of *Matter of Fact*. For, as it is told in the *New Association* (and which none of these *Authors* have *Answer'd*) It is the *Maxim* of the *Politicks* at *Rome*, that the only *Method* for *Destroying* the *Church of England*, is, to *Encourage* and *Set up* the *Dissenters*; who ever *Have*, ever *Will*, (as oblig'd by their *Principles*) and *Can*, with less *Suspicion* of the *Deluded People* overthrow *Episcopacy* (the most substantial *Enemy* of the *Papacy*) than if it were *Attack'd bare-fac'd* by any *Prince* or others *Professing Popery*; And every *Degree* that the *Dissenters* do *Rise*, it is even a *Mathematical Demonstration*, that *Episcopacy* must *Fall* in the same *Proportion*, these being *Directly Opposite* to each other.

The
Grand Po-
litick at
Rome.

Upon the *Restoration*, 1660. a *Gentleman* then at *Rome*, said, The *Court* there were in *Great Hopes*, that a *Toleration* wou'd have been *Granted* to the *Dissenters* in *England*. But when the *News* came, That the *Act of Uniformity* was *Pass'd*, they were much *Dejected*, and said, Now the *CHURCH of ENGLAND* is *Established*.

V.
No Severi-
ties Intend-
ed against
the Dissen-
sers.

But after all, these *Men* make no *Difference* (because they wou'd have others make none) betwixt *Promoting Severities* against the *Dissenters*, and not putting them in equal *Power* of the *Government* with those of the *Church Established*; which is all that in the *New Association* is *Propos'd*. They call every thing *Persecution* that excludes them from *Power*! And all the *Dispute* now betwixt the *Church of England* and *Them*, is only about the *Power*, they still enjoying untouch'd a *Free and Unlimited Toleration*, as to their *Religion*, without any the least *Infringement* so much as *At-*
tempted

tempted upon it; but, on the Contrary, all the Assurance has been given them that any Government can give; in the Preface of the Abortive *Act* concerning *Occasional Conformity*, it is fully Established; and in the *Queens Speech*, upon the Conclusion of the *Session*, Feb. 27. 1703. She Declares, that she is *firmly Resolv'd to Maintain it, and Hopes that they will rest Secure and Satisfied in it.* Yet they are not *Satisfy'd!* And in *Scotland*, where they are not only *Tolerated*, but *Established* by *Act of Parliament*, as the *National Constitution*, and have Receiv'd the *Queens* repeated Assurances (*Un-Asked*) for their Confirmation, they are least of all *Satisfy'd!* What is it then will *Satisfy* them? Nothing but seeing the *Episcopal Party* so effectually *Humbled* as to be out of all future Capacity of *Sharing* any of the *Power* with them. They cannot think themselves *Secure*, while there are any *Competitors* with them for the *Power*. They know very well that there can be no *Sharing* of *Power*, it must be *One* and *Intire*; And the Contest for it is *Anarchy* and *Confusion*. Therefore it was Propos'd in the *New Association*, That for the Preservation of the *Establish'd Constitution* in *England*, the *Dissenters* shou'd not *Share* the *Power*, but without any *Infraction* upon either their *Liberty*, *Property*, or *Toleration*. And this they call *Dragooning*, *Halters*, and *Gallies!* But without Answering of the *Arguments*, for they know them to be *Just*, they are their own, and made use of by them, when they had the *Power*. Nor can they say, That they were *Mis-Represented*, or any thing told of them, in that *Pamphlet*, but plain *Matter of Fact* which cou'd not be *Dis-prov'd*, as being *Notorious* to all the *World*. Nor can they shew any such *Application*, as, *Pay them that they have Deserved*, or to *Remember Old Scores*. No, But let all these be *Bury'd* and *Forgotten*; only, Let them not *Act* the same *Tragedy* over again. That is all that is Propos'd. But they would have it in their *Power*; And that we shou'd Trust their *Good Nature* for another *Revolution!* And denying this to them, is *Invading* of their *Rights*, as *Free-Born English Men!*

Therefore as to the *Politicks* which these Men wou'd impose upon the Nation, That using *Severities* to the *Dissenters*, is the way to introduce *Popery*; I say, not *Severities*, while they Demean themselves *Peaceable* and *Obedient* to the *Government*; but to keep them out of any *Share* in the *Legislature*, or *Offices* whereby they may be enabled to create *Disturbances*, seems the most Probable way to Preserve the *Church Established*, and the *Government*, and even *Themselves* too, and consequently to keep out *Popery*.

And as their pretended *Politicks* are False, no less are their *Matters of Fact*, Which they bring to Support them, as if all those of our *Princes* who

VI.
The Management
of our Princes
in Relation to
Popery.

who us'd Severities (as they call it) against the *Dissenters*, did it with Design to Introduce *Popery*. Of which the quite Contrary is the Truth. That is, That those of our *Princes* who are most suspected to have had that Design, did most *Care* and *Indulge* the *Dissenters*; Witness the *Indulgence* of them in the Year 1672, which King *Charles 2d.* wou'd have forc'd over the Belly of his *Parliament*; And that Granted to them by King *James 2d.* Whereas that Wise *Princess Q. Elizabeth*, as Sir *Phil. Warwick* wll observes in his *Memoirs*, p. 2. Watch'd the Beginning of those *Evils* which over-run her *Successors*, by their *Indulgence*, and kept a strict hand over the *Puritans*, including them, equally with the *Papists*; under the same *Name* and *Penalty* of *Recusants*. And she had *Peace*, Which neither *K. Jam. I. Char. I. Char. II.* nor *Jam. II.* cou'd enjoy longer than it was in the *Power* of that *Faction* to take it from them.

Therefore if we will Measure what is to Come, by what is Past, when we see a King of *England* setting up the *Dissenters* on High, and exceeding in his Favours to them, we have just Cause to Suspect, either that there is *Popery* at the Bottom; or else, That he is a *Dissenter* himself, and but an *Occasional Conformist*. Loose *Practices* beget loose *Principles*. And the *Custom* of *Sinning* may so far take away the *Sense* of a *Sin*, as that Men may come at last to Defend it by *Principle*, and justify *Hypocrisy* as a *Christian Virtue*, till they come to have their *Portion* with it.

VII.
A Notable
Defence
of Occasio-
nal Confor-
mity.

See how easily these Men can satisfy their *Consciences*! In these *Reflections*, p. 24. they justify their *Occasional Conformity*, because the *Act of the Test* was Design'd against the *Papists*; And that the late *Earl of Shaftsbury* was generally thought to have had the chief Hand in contriving that *Act*, who was known to be no Enemy to the *Dissenters*; And that it was as well known that his principal Design in that *Act* was against the *Duke of York* and his *Papists*. Thence they conclude, That the Design of this *Act* was only for Men to declare themselves not to be *Papists*, and say, *Where's the Hypocrisie in Dissenters to do this?*

1. Here is a pretty way to Elude an *Act of Parliament*, or any *Law*, to say, Such a Man had a hand in it; and we know his *Meaning*, whatever the *Words* of the *Act* may bear, it is no Matter for that! But,

2. May not the *Wicked* be Trapped in the Work of their own Hands; And be Caught themselves in the same Net which they laid for another; The *Papists* will not receive the *Sacrament* in our *Church*, because they own not our *Communion*. The *Dissenters* have the same Reason, and if they were as *Sincere* as these *Papists* who Refuse upon that Account, they wou'd do so too.

But

But they have another Reason; they have *Preach'd* and *Printed*, and *Contended Earnestly*, and that for many Years, That *Kneeling* at the *Sacrament* is *Idolatry*; and give this as one main Reason of their Separation from our Church. The most *Moderate* and *Modern Trimmers* amongst them even now do own this to be if not *Superstition*, at least, yet a thing *Scandalous* and giving great *Offence*, because of its too near Approaching to *Papery*, for that the *Papists* always do it, and therefore that it is laying of a *Stumbling-Block* in the way of our *Weak Brethren*, which is a *Sin*; And notwithstanding wou'd have the *Laws* so *Interpreted*, as the doing of it, in *Them*, should be a *Tax* that they are no *Papists*!

There is nothing too hard for these *Men* to *Answer*! For they have *Abdicated* all *Principles*, all *Truth*, and even *Common-Sense* from among *Mankind*, as far as their *Example* or *Authority* can do it.

When, any of the *Differences* in *Religion* betwixt *Them* and *Us* stand in the way of a *Good Place*, or any *Post* wherein they may promote the *Cause*, they make them as little as *Mole-Hills*, at which no *Man* needs to *Stumble* that has *Eyes* in his *Head*.

But when they come to *Justify* their *Schism*, or *Rail* at the *Church* of *England*, and cry out *Papery*, then they turn the other *End* of the *Perspective*, and *Magnify* them to *Mountains*.

They own *Schism* (wherever it lies) to be a most *Grievous* and *Damning Sin*; and say, That nothing keeps them out of our *Communion*, and hinders them to heal the *Breach*, on their *Parts*, but the *Tenderness* of their *Conscience*, which cannot *Comply* with what they are verily *Perswaded* to be a *Plain* and *Manifest Sin*. Yet *Occasionally* they can *Comply* with altogether, and as oft as the *Law* requires it, where any thing of *Power* or *Profit* is to be got by it! And then it is no *Sin* at all.

If these be not *Hypocrites*, the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* must escape! Nay, there is no such *Sin*!

VIII. Of Local and Mental Communion.
The *Jesuits* in *China* defend their *Allowing* the *Christians* there to go to *Worship* together with the *Chinese* in their *Idol-Temples*, by the same sort of *Casistry* of *Occasional Communion*; or, as one of our *Occasional Friends* has lately worded it *Local Communion*, that is, in his own words, *When he goes to Church, though he Locally separates from the Meeting, he Mentally separates not.* This you will find in a late Pamphlet upon this Subject, Entitled, *A Sober Caution to the Members of this New Parliament, Written and put out against their Sitting, Oct. 20. 1702, By one that holds Communion with the Church.* Printed for A. Baldwin, in the 9th page.

If

If you think it strange that he calls himself *One that holds Communion with the Church*, He Unriddles this, p. 6. where he tells us, That the *Principles of such Men as go to Meetings* are very *Divers*. "There are some (*says he*) go to Meetings, because they think our Parochial Churches not to be Gospel-Churches, our Set-forms of Prayer Unlawful, and that it is a Sin to Kneel at the Sacrament, because the Papists do Kneel to the Host. Such Opinionists as these will not, ought not to take an Office; if they do, there is none but will allow them to be Hypocrites. Such a Person declares himself to have no Conscience, and if he Pretends one, he is worse to me than an Infidel." Thus that Author.

And by this, he Condemns as *Opinionists* the whole Generation of our Antient and Genuine *Dissenters*, and all their Books and *Preachments*. It was by *Preaching* up the *Unlawfulness* of joining in the *Liturgy* and *Worship* of our Church, as *Sinful*, which gain'd them so many *Profelytes* among the poor *Deluded Populace*.

IX. But if their Sentiments are Alter'd (I wish it were True, for I find it not in their Conversation) then it is matter of great Curiosity to know, how they now Justifie their *Separation* from being formally a *Schism*; since it is allow'd by All, even by Themselves, that a *Separation* from the *Communion* I was of, without a *sufficient Reason*, is a *Schism*: And that no *Reason* can be *sufficient*, except the avoiding of what is *Sinful*; because that *Schism* is it self a Great *Sin*, even the Rending of *Christ's Body*, which is the *Church*, into Pieces. But if any thing that is *Sinful* be Impos'd upon me, as the *Condition* of any *Communion*, I cannot Comply, because no Man can be oblig'd to *Sin*: And in that Case, the *Schism* lies at their Door who Impose such *Unlawful Terms* of *Communion*. I Go not from them, but they Thrust me out.

Therefore it behoves every one to Examine with the utmost Pains and Sincerity, whether the *Conditions* of *Communion* that are Impos'd be *Sinful*; because otherwise he is not freed from the Dreadful *Sin* of *Schism*, if he Separates upon that Account.

But where the *Terms* are allow'd not to be *Sinful*, as this Author does, and, as he says, several others with him, then what *Reason* can they give that is *sufficient* to Justifie their *Separation*?

Their Ex- You have it, p. 8. viz. The Ejection of several of their Ministers by
cuses to Ju- the Act of Uniformity; "And being thus depriv'd, they cannot
stify them- "Preach at all, unless in Meetings. They were set apart for that Of-
selves from fice, and their Plea is Duty, Greater Duty. The People many
it. "of them are affected with their Preaching and Praying, more than our
"Mini-

Ministers Reading their Sermon and Prayers; they chuse it, the Law allows it, they follow them, and their Plea is Edification, **Greater Edification.**

First, for the Case of their Ministers.

1. Very few of those *Ejected* by the *Act of Uniformity* are now Alive. But they have *Ordain'd* (in their way) others to *succeed* them, and to Perpetuate the *Schism* to Posterity. So that they thought something else to be their *Duty*, than to Exercise their own *Gifts*, while they liv'd, having been once *set apart to that Office*; which is all the Reason here given to Excuse them.

1. Of their Ministers.

2. They set up their *Meetings* in direct *Opposition* to the *Church*, and had them at the *Church Hours*, that none who went to them cou'd go to the *Church*. And some few of them, that, in some Fits, did otherwise as Mr. *Baxter*, and Mr. *Henry*, were for that very Reason, blam'd by the Rest. And they did generally, and do still, *Preach* up their People to the utmost *Abhorrence* of the *Church*, her *Liturgy* and *Constitution*.

And in their *Private Seminaries, Schools, and Colleges*, which they have throughout *England*, Maintain'd upon their *Publick Stock*, they instruct their Youth in all the *Anti-Monarchical*, and *Anti-Episcopal* Books and Principles that they can, to make Root and Branch work with *Episcopacy*, as their Phrase is; they make it their Work to *Ridicule* and *Blaspheame* our *Holy Liturgy*, and that Boy who can make the best *Prophane Jest* upon it, is *Applauded* and *Encouraged*. They set themselves to *Invent Slanderous Eyes* and *Calumnies* upon the *Persons* of our *Bishops* and *Clergy*, and spread them *Abroad* with great *Diligence*. They are Taught to *Justify* the *Murther* of *K. Charles I.* And to *Extol* the *Regicides* as most *Noble Patriots*. From this *Forge* came the late *Pamphlets*, which have been spread with so much Pains, to prove (if they cou'd) that the *King* was not the Author of ΕΙΚΑΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, but was of the *Irish Massacre* and *Rebellion*; which *Edm. Calamy*, one of their *Preachers*, has given us again in *Print* this same Year, in his *Abridgement of Baxter's Life*. For which I refer you to the *Case of Present Concern*, in a *Letter to a Member of Parliament*, which came out last *January*.

Of their Private Academies.

But one *Topick* mightily *Inculcated* in these *Academies*, since the *Revolution*, was, That the *Greatest Part* of *England* was on their Side, and that *Episcopacy* would soon be tumbled down, which they were bid most assuredly to *Expect*, as a thing *settled* and *determined*.

And (which is a very sad Matter to think upon) several of the *Sons* of our *Gentry* and *Quality* are sent to be *Formed* in these *Nurseries*. Of which we have seen the Effect.

All

All this, and more to the same Purpose, we have, upon sure and certain Knowledge, from one who was himself Educated in the same Academies. And has given us the Relation in Print (with the Names &c.) this same Year, Entitled, *A Letter from a Country Divine, to his Friend in London, concerning the Education of the Dissenters in their private Academies in several parts of this Nation.* Printed for R. Clavel at the Poacock in St. Paul's Church-Yard, 1703.

But before I part with this Book, I must take Notice of a Remarkable Passage in it, p. 9. which comes up close to the Subject we are upon, of the pretty *Distinctions* these Men have found out, to solve their Consciences in any *Troublesome Case*.

He having told of a Custom of theirs of having their Youth *Entered* in one of the Publick *Universities* (which yet they call'd meer *Sodom*s and *Gomorrah*s) that their Time running on, they might be Intitled to *Degrees*, though bred in their private *Academies*, comes to the *Salvo* they had for their Oath, in the *University*, not to take *Pupils*, Read *Lectures*, &c. In which Oath are these Words, *Tantum in Academia*, by which they get Loose from the whole, saying, That though they have *Pupils* and Read *Lectures*, yet it is not in such Manner as is done in the *University*, that is, *Taking and Giving Degrees, in Opposition thereunto.* Tho' he tells us, That even this was attempted for some Years at *Stanford*.

But to return to our former Author of the *Seasonable Caution*, he sees now, That the *Separation* of the *Dissenters* from the *Church of England* is deeper *Founded*, than he Imagin'd, or at least was willing to Confess. And that it goes farther than the *Personal Case* of those *Ministers* who were *Ejected* by the *Act of Uniformity*, upon which alone he puts it, as to the *Case* of their *Ministers*.

2.
The Case
of their
People.

Therefore now let us consider the Excuse he makes for the *People* who still continue to *separate* under the *New Ministers* which they *Now* have.

And all that is said to that, is their being more *Affected* with their *Preaching* and *Praying* than with *Ours*; And so their *Plea* is *Edification*, more *Edification*.

1. I will not enter here upon the *Judgment* or *Pallat* of these Men, who pretend to be more *Affected* with the *Scots Presbyterian Eloquence*, and much of the same Strain, frequent among their *Holders-Forth* here, than with our most Grave and well Digested *Liturgy*; And Prefer a *Whining Tone*, and a *Cant*, to the best Compos'd *Discourses*, to *Sense* and *Learning*.

2. But

2. But I would ask them, Whether their being more *Affected* be a sufficient Ground for *Schism*? Or do they prefer the Pleasing of their *Ears* (for that is all. They deny not but that *Sound Doctrine* is *Preach'd* with us) to the *Unity* of the *Church* of *Christ*? Then can Pretences be never wanting to *Schism*, even the same as at *Corinth*, one for *Paul*, another for *Apollos*, &c. Then is *Schism* a very slender sort of a *Sin*, which can be so easily *Dispens'd* with!

Indeed these Men have no Notion of *Church* or of *Schism*, except where it comes home to Themselves; when any of their own Party set up *Factions* and *Divisions* among them; and then none have a sharper *Sense* of it, or see the Consequences of it more *Feelingly*.

But this Gentleman, and the *Meeters* of his Mind think, That both *They* and *We* are *True Churches*: And therefore, That it is necessary to go to their *Meetings*, as well as to the *Church*, to avoid *Schism*, because that we ought to hold *Communion* with all *True Churches*: And he proves the *Dissenters* to be *True Churches*, p. 9. from this Reason, *Where the Word of God is rightly Preach'd, and the Sacraments rightly Administred, there is a true Church, according to our 39 Articles.* And he supposes this to be done among the *Dissenters*. *Ergo.*

But he must understand, That the *Church* of *England* does deny the *Of Ordination.*
Ordinations of the *Dissenters*, and does oblige such of them as have *Receiv'd Ordination* in their Way (for some of them have no *Ordination* at all) to be *Ordained* by the Hands of *Bishops*, before they own them as *True Ministers* of *Christ*. And if they are not *Ministers* of *Christ*, they are no other than *Mere Laymen*; and then neither is the *Word* Rightly *Preached*, nor the *Sacraments* Rightly *Administred* by them. But, on the contrary, they are Guilty of *Sacrilege* and the *Sin* of *Korah*, who *Usurp* upon the *Priesthood*. And joining with them, is *Partaking* of their *Sin*, and *Rebellion*, not only against *Aaron*, or the *Bishop*, but against the *Lord*, who hath *Instituted* these *Orders* in his *Church*; And which no *Man* taketh to himself, no not *Christ*, without an *Outward Commission* from *God*, such as *Aaron* and *Christ* had, as we are *Expresly* taught, *Heb. v. 4, 5, 6.*

Under the *Law*, where *Sacrifices* were Rightly *Offer'd*, and the *Law* Rightly *Read* and *Expounded*, there was the *True Church*: But if any took upon them to do this, besides the *Priests* *Ordain'd* of *God*, tho' the *King* himself, (2 *Chr. xxvi. 18.*) or any *Levite* of an *Inferiour* degree (*Num. xvi. 10.*) or any *Layman* were so *Rash* (2 *Sam. vi. 7.*) As it was *Death* by the *Law* (*Num. xviii. 7.*) so was it inflicted by *God* himself in all the Cases beforementioned, not excepting the *Great* and other-
wise Good King Uziah.

What loose Notions then have these Men of the *Christian Church*, whose *Apostles* and *Bishops* were *Ordain'd* by a *Greater* than *Moses*, as to think that the *Office* of her *Clergy* may be safely *Invaded* by any *Lay-Men* or *Women*, and to *Reckon* such as *True Churches*!

This is the *Latitudinarian Notion*, of late crept in amongst us; and which *Extends* to *Doctrines* as well as *Discipline*, and opens a *Door* to let in *Socinus* himself, who has already got too great *Footing* with us. For when once we leave the *Institutions* of *God*, there is no *Stop*, and our *Imagination* is our only *Rule*.

This Author makes no *Distinction* of *Dissenters* (I suppose he means only those call'd *Protestant Dissenters*, as I do by the Term *Dissenters* all along, our *Business* not being now with the *Papists*) and so we must take his *Meaning* to be all of them, whether *in Orders*, or *out of Orders*. But I will not put this upon him, if he did not truly mean it. However, if he thinks *Orders* to be *Necessary* to an *Organiz'd Church*, and he *Quotes* the *Authority* of the *Church of England* in her 39 *Articles* for the *Presbyterians* alone (suppose) to be a *True Church*, here he has the same *Authority* which allows not their *Orders*; and no *Orders* is the same thing as *Orders* that are not *Valid*, for if they are not *Valid*, they are *None*.

The Do-
ctrines of
the Dissen-
ters Exa-
min'd.

But if he *Extends* his *Charity* as far as the *Act* of *Toleration*, if that be his *Rule*, then he must *Communicate*, (under Pain of *Schism*, by his *Argument*) with the *Quakers*, *Philadelphians*, and *Anti-Nomians*, who *Preach* against *Repentance*, for that *Sin* does not *Defile* the *Elect*, or is no *Sin* in them, and they have *Numerous Congregations* in *London*. The same *Doctrine* is *Taught* amongst the *Anabaptists* and *Independents*: And the *Presbyterians* have formerly *Taught* the same; and even now *Border* near upon it, in their *Explanation* of *Election*, to favour their *Notion* of *Reprobation*, viz. That *God* did *Create* so many *Men* (many more in their *Account*, than all the rest of the *World*) on purpose to *Dam* them, and that there is no *Possible Means* for them to be *Sav'd*, let them do what they will, because it would break the *Decree* of *God*. This the *Lutherans* call *Worshipping* of the *Devil*. Because, as they say, we cannot *Raise* a *Blacker Idea* of him, or more *Distant* from *Mercy* and *Goodness* by which we *Describe* *God*. According to this, they put those whom they call *Elect*, out of *Fear* of *Sinning*, at least so far as to be *Punish'd* for it in another *World*, let them *Sin* on never so much; because the *Decree* of *God* again must be kept for their *Salvation*.

Of Pra-
destination. In this manner they *Explain* *Predestination*, which tho' a *Scripture* *Word*, as *GOD's Repenting* is, yet is no more to be taken *Strictly* than

that, it is only spoke *ad Captum*, to condescend to the Meanness of our Apprehension. For there is no *Fore* nor *After* in God, and consequently no *Fore* or *Pre-Destination*. That is only spoken with Respect to Us, who live in *Time* and by *Succeſſion*, and can apprehend nothing but according to that Measure. And so we ought to let it lie, as we do the Notion of *Eternity*, or without *Beginning*, as a thing we cannot Explain, or, in this Life, truly understand. But these Men, with the *Bethshemites*, will be prying into the *Ark*. The greatest Bulk of their *Preaching* is upon this *Subject*, whence they draw such Wild *Conclusions* as before is told, and drive many of their Hearers into *Presumption* or *Despair*; of which last especially there are many Examples, chiefly on their *Death-Beds*; because there being no sure *Marks* of their *Election* to be given them, they sink under the dismal *Apprehension*! As to the Measuring of themselves, by their past Life, supposing it Vertuous, in the Common Standard, that gives no Relief, because their Doctrine is, That the seemingly *Vertuous* Actions of the *Reprobate* are all *Abomination* before God, and help them Nothing. What *Marks* then can they have?

If one ask these Men (as I have done) whether they would give any Leave to draw *Consequences*, and argue *Strictly* and *Philosophically* from God's being said to *Repent*, to *Grieve*, &c. because they are *Scripture-Words*? They Answer, No, because they are only spoke *ad Captum*. But then is not the word *Predestination* likewise *ad Captum*, in the same Sense? Yes, they will own it, and yet will not be debarr'd from Arguing *Strictly* upon it. Thus the *Anthropomorphits* thought God to have a *Body*, and to be of the *Shape* of a *Man*, (thus they constru'd *Man's* being made after the *Image* of God) because of some *Scripture-Expressions* which mention his *Eyes*, *Hands*, *Feet*, &c. Not considering that such *Expressions* were only *ad Captum*, as where it is said, *We shall be safe under his Wings and Feathers*; whence they might as well fancy Him of the Shape of a *Bird*.

Thus God knows *All Things*, and he *Decrees* according to his Pleasure; And *All Things* are *Present* to Him, both *Past* and to *Come*: But with us there is *Past* and *Future*: Therefore when he is said to *Foreknow* or *Fore-ordain*, it is only *ad Captum*, as to Us, it is not so *Strictly* in himself. And therefore we must not Argue *Strictly* from thence. And from these *Prepositions* is all the *Difficulty* with which Men Perplex themselves in this *Question*. For there is no *Difficulty*, no *Evil Consequences* can be drawn from God his *Knowing All Things*, and *Decreeing* of *Happiness* to the *Good*, and *Punishment* to the *Wicked*; But from his doing this *Before-hand* (which, *Strictly* speaking, and according to his own *Nature*, he does not) arises all the *Trouble*. Hence these *Predestinarians* take away

Free-Will in *Man*, to avoid the Possibility of his breaking the *Decrees* of *God*; And consequently they Destroy all the Foundation of either *Rewards* or *Punishments*, of *Promises* or *Threatnings*, indeed of *Good* or *Evil*; of which, at this Rate, *Man* is no more Capable than a *Tree* or a *Horse*. And hence it is, That their Doctrine of *Absolute Reprobation* comes; And such an *Election* as has no Respect at all to any thing we do, whether *Good* or *Evil*; And of which there being no other *Signs*, must leave every *Man* at his *Death*, in an utter *Uncertainty*.

Of Assurance.

To Cure which they have added another Doctrine of *Assurance*, That a *Man* must be *Assur'd* of his *Salvation* before he *Dies*, and make this a *Mark of Election*. (With this one of them tormented our good *Arch-Bishop Laud* upon the *Scaffold*.) But instead of a *Cure*, this makes the Matter still worse with them, for when *Men* find not this *Assurance*, then they must absolutely *Despair*, by their Doctrine, as not finding the *Mark* of their *Election*. And if they do find what they think such an *Assurance*, it being Founded upon no *Real* thing, can be but *Imagination*. And so they are *Deluded* both ways.

How different is this from the *Christian Assurance*, taught in the *Church of England*, particularly in her *Homilies* of *Faith* and *Salvation*, which is, a *Firm Faith* in the All-sufficient *Satisfaction* which *Christ* our *Lord* has made to the *Justice* of *God*, or to that *God* who is *Justice* it self, for our *Sins*, by the *Sacrifice* of *Himself* upon the *Cross*; Producing, as naturally it must, a *Sincere*, tho' not of it self a *Worthy Repentance* for all our past *Sins*; which shews its self in all the *Good Works* we are capable to perform.

This is grounded upon the Authority of the *Holy Scripture*, this is the constant Tenor of the whole *Gospel*, and therefore a firm and infallible *Assurance*; and depends not upon the *Criticism* of a *Word*, which we must own to be spoke only *ad Captum*, and therefore not *Strictly True*.

But whatever can be made of it, can in no ways hurt this *Faith*; because whatever *God's* secret *Decrees* are (And if he has kept them *Secret*, we ought to let them so remain) they cannot possibly go contrary to what he has *Publickly*, that is, in the *Holy Scriptures*, either *Promis'd* or *Commanded*, for that wou'd be for *God* to go *Contrary* to *Himself*. Therefore we ought *Entirely* to *Trust* in what he has *Promis'd*, and *Chearfully* to *Accomplish* what he has *Commanded*, according to our *Power*; without entring into his *Secrets*, or *Pérplexing* our selves about his *Hidden Decrees*. (See *Deut. xxix. 29.* then Read *1 Sam. vi. 19.*) If they must be spoke of, let it be confin'd to the *Schools*, and the less of it there the better.

But

But to have the *Pulpits* fill'd with it, and the *Heads* of the poor *People* turn'd with it, is of *Pernicious* Consequence. And this is almost the constant *Theme* of the *Dissenters* Preaching, and their *Hearers* can hardly Talk of any thing else.

And it *Pleases* them, It works upon the *Imagination*; and *Viciates* their *Pallat* from all sound *Reason*, and the *Sobriety* of *Religion*. Which with them consists all in *Flights*, and who can *Raise* them *Highest*, are the most *Enlighten'd* and *Powerful-Men*! While at the same time, their *Reason* is *Starv'd*, no *Nourishment* afforded to that, till having lost the Use of their *Judgment*, they *Commence* Perfect *Enthusiasts*.

This is the *Affecting*, the *Edification*, *Greater Edification*, which this *Author* gives as a *sufficient Reason* for their *Schism*. If it be not so, let him, let any of them *Assign* the *Point* wherein this their *Greater Edification* do's *Consist*. But they cannot *Explain* it, it is like a *Taste*, which we know not how to *Describe*. They have a *Relish* in the *Fanatick Preaching*, which they *Feel* not with us. Ours go too much upon *Reason* and *Plain Doctrine*, wou'd move the *Affections* upon *Solid Grounds*, and make us *Wise* unto *Sobriety*. Which seems *Flat* and a *Low Dispensation* to *Appetites* us'd to the *Third Region*, and cannot *Breathe* in *Common-Air*! When *Imagination* is upon the *Wing*, nothing can be so *Irkesome* as to *Clogg* it with *Reason*, and *Prescribe Compass* or a *Helm* to it! And *solid Meat* wou'd *Choak* those who have *Fed* all their *Life* upon *Froth*.

Now how *Just* is it with *God*, to let those *Men* who have had no *Re- gard* to his *Institutions*, but thrust themselves *Sacrilegiously* into the *Ministry*, fall from the *Truth* of *Doctrine* too, and follow their own *Imagination*, and a *strong Delusion*!

I cou'd give several other *Instances* of their *Unsoundness* as to *Doctrine*; but that is not the *Present Business*. I think sufficient has been said to shew, That neither their *Gifts*, nor their *Doctrine*, so far as it *Differs* from ours, are any *sufficient Grounds* for the *Schism* which they make; besides their want of *Orders*, which of it self alone were sufficient to deter any from them, lest he *Perish* in their *Sin*, as it was said of those who follow'd *Korah*; who differ'd not with *Aaron* in any *Point*, either of *Worship* or *Doctrine*, except that only of *Church Government*. And that first *Instance* of *Schism*, upon that *Head*, serves to the end of the *World*, a *Caution* and *Instruction*, what *Stress* *God* lays upon the *Government* of his *Church*, and to keep off all *Prophane Hands* from *Invading* it. And *St. Jude* tells us of those under the *Gospel*, who *Perish* in the *Gain-saying* of *Korah*.

X.

Corruption
in DO-
CTRINE
has always
follow'd
any Infra-
ction upon
the GO-
VERN-
MENT of
the Church.

Korah. So that this must not pass only as an *Old-Testament* Story, as some *Prophane*ly, wou'd put it off.

Such were the *False Apostles* whom the *People* of *Corinth* chose to themselves, because they were more *Affected* with their *Preaching*, and for *Edification*, *Greater Edification*! For we find not that they quite *Forsook* the *True-Apostles*, or their *Communion*, for some were for *Paul*, some for *Apollos*, and some for *Cephas*; but they had *Itching-Ears*, and set up for one rather than another, and so broke that *Order* in which the *Apostles* had *Dispos'd* the *Churches*, which was reckon'd in them as a *Schism*. Nor do we Read of any *False Doctrine* at that time Taught by those there call'd *False Teachers*, other than that they were such *Teachers* as the *People* heaped unto themselves. It is true that *damnable Doctrines* did afterwards follow this *Schism*, as they have done all other *Schisms* from that Day to this. It is a *Curse* God has laid upon all who break thro' that *Government* which he has appointed in his *Church*; And to shew how *Essential* the *Government* of the *Church* is, to preserve her *Doctrine*.

As the *Support* of any *Civil Government* is to preserve its *Laws*. And the *Change* of the *Priesthood* (as well as of the *King*) does necessarily also infer a *Change* of the *Law*, by which that *Priesthood* was *Establish'd*. *Heb. vii. 12.*

Thus the *Usurpation* of the *Bishops* of *Rome*, and setting up their *Supremacy* above all their *Fellow-Bishops*, throughout the whole *Catholick Church*, and so altering the *Primitive Government* of the *Church*, by many and *Independent Bishops* (as the *World* is Govern'd by *Independent Kings*, without any *Universal Monarch*) was follow'd by many and great *Corruptions* and *Errors* in *Doctrine*.

And not less have follow'd the various *Sects* which have thrown off *Episcopacy* altogether.

Of which the *Most* and *Vilest* have got in amongst us. And the *Principles* (or rather indeed the no *Principles* at all, for they have none) of these *Occasional Communicants* wou'd have us own all these as *True Churches*, and *Communicate* with them all; since they are *Tolerated* by *Law*, under the *Peril* of *Schism*. A strange *Notion* of *Schism*! And will the *Law* do it?

XI. What if *Popery* were *Tolerated*? (And there may be *Reasons* of *State*, some time or other, for it,) Wou'd that make it *Lawful* in *Conscience* to join with it? The *Jews* are so far *Tolerated*, that they are *Commiv'd* at. May we then join with them? Yes, no doubt, *Occasionally*, if there was any thing to be *Got* by it, by these *Mens Principles*, and as oft
(still

Toleration
does not
take away
Schism.

(still *Occasionally!*) as the *Law* shou'd require it, if it were ten times a Day!

And some think this so far from being a Fault, or that such *Hypocrisie* ought to be discourag'd by any Law, That such a Law as this in times of *Popery*, had prevented the Reformation, which was owing to Occasional Con-
 formity. Concern
ing Occas
ional Con-
formity, in
times of
Popery.

This was Conformity to *Popery*, for there was no other Occasional Con-
 formity then.

And this shews how far such Mens Principles will carry them.

And *Judaism* is not *Idolatry*; and *Heathenism* nothing *Worse*, nor so *Bad* as *Christian Idolatry*.

Others think this an abominable *Scandal* upon the Reformation, as if it had been all carry'd on by *Hypocrisie*, and cou'd not have been effected any other ways.

That a Man who thought so, wou'd be a very ill Hand to Write the *History of the Reformation*.

That it is against plain *Matter of Fact*, for the *Martyrs* in *Q. Mary's* time might all have sav'd their Lives, if they had been Princip'l'd (but a *Little!*) in the *Doctrine of Occasional-Conformity*.

That the *Hugonots* in *France* might by this, have prevented all the *Persecution* against them.

That all the *Primitive Martyrs* were lost (*foolishly!*) for want of this *Accommodating* Notion.

Nay more, the *Dissenters* themselves might have sav'd their *Twelve-Pence* a *Sunday*, and other things they call'd *Persecution* in *K. Charles 2d's* time, if they had then known their now *Doctrine of Occasional Conformity*. We therefore see how our *Modern Whigs* and *Dissenters* have got far Beyond the *Old Ones* in all *Truth* and *Sincerity*, in *Detestation* of *Lying* and *Dissimulation!*

That if such a *Latitude* be Allow'd, it Dissolves all *Faith* and *Security* amongst *Mankind*.

That, by this Rule, a Man may *Subscribe* the 39 *Articles*, and yet Believe none but the *Two first*. For that every Man believ'd the *Two first* of the *Thirty Nine Articles*; but there have been many *Good and Learned Men* cou'd not bring themselves up to give their *Assents* to some of the *Last*. Yet cou'd *Subscribe* their *Assent* to the whole, for a *Valuable Consideration*. And then *Write* against them!

But

XII.

Of the
secret Hi-
story.

But this was meant, perhaps, to justify what the *Author* of the *Secret History* (before-mention'd) writes in these words, *I always believe well of Lay-Men, till I see Cause to Change my Mind; tho' as to Church-Men it is quite otherwise with me, for I have seen so much amiss in that Profession, that I am always inclin'd to think Ill of them, till I see a Cause to think otherwise.*

This *History* (so much of it as I have seen, and we may well suppose the rest to be of the same Strain) is as *Lewd* a *Libel* as ever I saw drop from the Pen of any *Atheist*, or the most *Spiteful Dissenter*, against the *Church* and the *Crown*, and All *Clergy-Men*, whatsoever, of whatever *Degree* or *Profession*.

He is against *Bishops* Voting in the *House of Lords*, and has done the best he can to shew what *Scandal* some of them did give there!

But this was wrote before he had Hopes of any Access thither: And when the *Bishops* and *Clergy* then at the Helm, saw so well thro' him, as to prevent his being a farther *Scandal* to the *Church*. Which mov'd his Righteous *Spleen* against them All.

And their Opposing the *Bill of Exclusion*, and the *Faction* then Rampant (of which he owns himself a *Zealous Partizan* and *Stickler*) to overthrow both *Church* and *State*, in the Reign of *K. Char. 2d.* And their *Preaching* up the *Principles* of *Loyalty* and *Passive Obedience*, and *Voting* for the *King*, and *Lineal Succession*, to Stem the *Torrent* of *Rebellion*, which he, with others were so *Strenuously* carrying on; These were the Causes of his *Bellowing* against them, as the vilest *Sett of Men* in the *Nation*, who wou'd always *Vote* for the *King*, and against the *Liberties* of the *People*. He meant of the *Faction*, whom the *King* would not suffer to *Execute* their *Rebellion*, then so well *Laid*, and just *Ready*—It was a *Cruel* and *Tyrannical* thing! To have all that *Author's* fine *Projects* spoil'd, that particularly whereupon he mightily *Values Himself*, and tells how it was *Applauded* by the *Party*, of having a *Guardian Regent* set over the *King*. And yet the *King* would not hear of it; And the *Bishops* wou'd still *Vote* for the *King*, and the *Clergy* *Preach* up *Loyalty* to him! Were such Men fit for *Human Conversation*!

If any Ask who this *Author* is? I can direct him no where better for Information, than to the Lord Chanc. *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*. Vol. i. Book iv. p. 271, &c. yet his *Character* is not fully Drawn there.

For tho' the Worthy P. there Exemplified, did Court and Serve the *Faction*, while he pretended to carry Fair at Court: Yet he did not Descend

Descend so Low, as to be a *Casuis*t for the *Party*, in such vile Cases, as the justifying of *Polygamy* under the *Gospel*, and the Lawfulness of *Divorcing* a *Wife* in Case of *Barrenness*, and all this to Serve no very *Honest Purposes*.

Which *Case* I have well Attested, but not fit to see the Light, for the filthy *Impurity* of it, not the Strength of *Argument*; it is indeed fit for Nothing but a *Lecture* of *Anatomy*.

And to shew Another Godly *Project* of the *Author's*, and what a Fast *Friend* he is to *Right*.

Now, if this *Author* be Desirous to know by what means I came by the Sight of his *Precious History*, I will satisfy his *Curiosity*. A Gentleman of my particular Acquaintance, was Employ'd to Transcribe some Part of it; but shut up while he did it, and allow'd no more Paper than he was to write over. But he found such *Rarities* in it, as A Mistake here is Rectify'd in Cassandra. Part 2. Sect. 3. p. 22. Tempted him to bring some Conceal'd Paper with him, and Transcribe likewise for himself: Of which I never heard a word from him in all his Life, so that if he was put under any *Promise* of Secrecy, he kept it, at least as to me: But since his Death, what he had Transcrib'd, with some *Remarks* upon it (all in his own *Hand-Writing*, very well known to me) are come to my hands so Providentially, that I thought it Incumbent upon me in Conscience to give the World Warning of so Pernicious a Book laid up in *Lavender*, to be Publish'd when the *Author* is *Dead*, and probably Those who now can Discover the foul *Mis-Representation* of particular *Passages*.

Or, may be, it is Intended sooner to see the Light, when the *Royal Name* of *Stuart* shall no more Wear the *Crown* in *England* (which the *Faction* hope is not far off) Nor any Appear who shall then Dare to Vindicate whatever *Calumnies* against a *Family* which they have Endeavour'd to Render so *Odious* to all the World, and still do Endeavour.

I wish the *Author* were either Oblig'd to Publish it now; or such Care taken, that the *Nation* should not be *Poyson'd* with it hereafter.

It wou'd be no Greater Mortification to him than the *Dissolution* of the *Oxford Parliament*, as he tells it himself; after which time, he says, That he gave himself to *Fasting* and *Prayer*, and to Amend the former *Looseness* of his *Life*, which he Confesses, but not the *Particulars*. That was not necessary——But the *English* of it was, That he was forc'd to Scamper, with his Beloved *Sh—ry*, and others of the *Faction*, as soon as they saw the *King* take the only Method that ever yet did do, or ever will, with that Generation of Men, which was, to shew his *Authority*, and let them see he was not *Afraid* of them. Then they who before, had grown upon the *King*, while he Play'd with them, till they

were just Ready to lay Hands upon Him; who Boasted so Loudly of their Numbers, and that all the Kingdom was on their Side, and the King left Desolate, and Durst not Disoblige them; immediately pull'd in their Horns, when they saw the King understood them, and wou'd be Impos'd upon no longer; and said they were Good Subjects, if he wou'd have Believ'd them. But the Chief of them Fled to Foreign Courts, there to Hatch Mischief against their own Natural King and Country (as their Brethren in Scotland had before done, in his Father's Reign, to the French Court) But thence sent Protestations of their Loyalty, in as High a Passion Obedience-Strain, as any of the High-flown Church-Men, whom this Author does Blamish.

XIII.
Compar'd
with the
Presby-
terian-Sin-
cerity to-
wards K.
Char. I.

And as Sincerely meant, as those of the General Assembly of his Country in the very Year 1648, when the King was a Prisoner in the hand of the Regicides, and Duke Hamilton had Rais'd an Army for his Majesty's Rescue, commonly call'd, *The Duke's Engagement*; which they Declar'd to be an *Unlawful Engagement*; And that the King ought not to be Admitted to come to any of his Houses in or near London, with Freedom, Honour or Safety (as had been Promis'd him) Nor any Messages or Propositions from him hearken'd to, till he had fully Satisfy'd Them and the Covenant, by Abolishing of Episcopacy, and putting the whole Power into Their hands: And yet, at the same time, were not Weary nor Asham'd to Repeat still their Fulsome Professions of Loyalty, and meant no Harm, no Dishonour, no Injury to his Majesty, they took God to Witness, and still Appeal'd to the Searcher of Hearts!

Let me give you some of the Words of their Declaration and Exhortation to their Brethren in England. Aug. 1. 1648, wherein they tell the King,

Albeit your Majesty, thro' the Suggestions of Evil Men, may haply entertain hard Thoughts of us and our Proceedings, yet the Searcher of Hearts knows, and our Consciences bear Record unto us, that we bear in our Spirits these Humble and Dutiful Respects to your Majesty that Loyal Subjects owe to their Native Sovereign; And that it would be one of our Greatest Contentments upon Earth to see your Majesty Reigning, &c.

And in what they call'd their Humble Supplication to the King. Aug. 12. 1648, they tell him, That they were very sensible of his Majesty's Sufferings and Low Condition; That they did not in the least Measure Approve, but from their Hearts Abhor any thing that had been done to his Majesty's Person; And that they did not Oppose his Majesty's Restitution to the Exercise of his Royal Power, &c.

Whereas

Whereas they had, by their *Declaration* the last of *July*, 1648, but 12 Days before, *Condemn'd* with Great Zeal, the *Parliaments* Offering to Raise an Army to Relieve the King, then a *Prisoner* in the Hands of those who *Murth'r'd* Him the 30th of *January* following, Calling and Demonstrating (as well as they cou'd.) the Undertaking to be an *Unlawful Engagement*.

Notwithstanding of which the *Engagement* went on, and Duke *Hamilton* March'd into *England* at the Head of a Noble and well-appointed Scots Army then Rais'd for the *Rescue* of their King.

This shews the *Rebellion* not to have been *National* in that Kingdom, as it was not in this. But all owing to the *Prevailing* and most *Hypocritical Faction*, which, by being at first *Neglected*, and afterwards *Encourag'd*, had Gain'd the *Populace*, and the *Ascendent* in both Kingdoms.

But some of these *Presbyterians* will say, in behalf of their *General Assembly*, aforesaid,

That they were *Cheated* even then. That tho' they were willing to take Advantage of the King's Extremities (tho they Protested the Contrary, and took God to Witness!) only so far as to Force him to Consent to the *Abolition* of *Episcopacy*, and to suffer them to carry on their *Covenanted Work* of *Reformation* (as they then *Worded* it, and now Repeat it.) Yet that they did not imagine their Brethren the *Independents*, who had Worm'd the King out of their Hands, wou'd have Proceeded so far, as to take away his Life; And that some of them did Protest against it; when they saw it come to the very Point, and that it was then too late to Prevent it.

But if this was the Case, why did they, after the King was Murth'r'd, and Duke *Hamilton* too, for Raising that *Engagement* to Prevent it, Declare still, That it was an *Unlawful Engagement*; and put those that were Concern'd in it, to open Penance on the Stool of Repentance, and Prosecuted them with all that Malice could Invent, as Malignants and what not, and Traitors to their Covenant, for no other Crime but that of Endeavouring to Rescue their King out of the hands of his Murth'ers! We must Believe their Actions, not their Words. Wise Men will make this the Standard. Why did they Ramm a Declaration, together with their Covenant, down the Throat of his Son K. Char. 2d. when they Crowned him a Prisoner in Scotland, the first of Jan. 1651, wherein they laid the Blood of the whole Rebellion upon his Father K. Char. I. And Forc'd him to own, being then in their hands, as the Idolatry of his Mothers, so the Bloodiness of his Father's House, wherein he Himself had a Share, while he Acted under his Father, when Prince of Wales. And the Inveteracy which they shew to this Day against that Royal Martyr, still Murth'ring of his Memory, with wilful Lyes and Forgeries,

geries, in Manner and Circumstances more Savage than even the Shedding of his Blood; are a full Proof of their Loyalty, and the Sincerity of those Awful Professions they so often made of it, as in the Presence of God! And a sure Rule, how far they are to be Trusted, in the like; for the Future. Which will be observ'd by all who are not Born to be Deceiv'd and Ruin'd by them.

The worst of the Heathen will Rise up in the Judgment with These, and Condemn them. There is not to be found in any History, Sacred, or Prophane, such Instances of Rooted Hypocrisie, Perfidy, and Bald Mockery of Oaths, Sacraments, and all things Sacred, as this Faction has shew'd; even in our Days, and ever since they Ascended into the World, and that every where. And their Sanctifying all this under the Pretence of Tender Conscience, and the Face of Religion, renders them Ten-fold more Deform!

XIV.
How this
Leven
works.

There is no Touching of this Pitch, without being Defil'd. It is hard for any who have Receiv'd their first Education and Impressions among this Society, not to be Leven'd with their Principles, and quite to throw off what they have suck'd in with their Mothers Milk. They contract a Liking to the Conversation of those who are Anti-Monarchical, and Anti-Episcopal, and Delight in the Discourses of Levelling and Parity, till they come at last to have an Utter Aversion to the very Persons as well as Office of all Kings, and of all Bishops and Clergy whatsoever. And yet, would be Kings and Bishops themselves!

Of their
Popular
Schemes
of Govern-
ment.

They frame New Schemes of Government out of their own Heads, which are In-consistent, and have no Foundation; yet think all Men Ignorant, who will not give in to these, or have any Esteem left for Old Forms and Constitutions, by which the World has been Govern'd from the Beginning.

This is the Reason the Author of the History beforementioned gives against the Bishops having any Votes in Parliament, viz. Their Unacquaintance with the Law, and the Wrong Notion they Generally have of Civil Society, makes them very Unfit for such Consultations: And their Voting as Commonly they do, creates a very Ill Opinion of all Clergy-Men, which fortifies Atheism mightily, and gives all that are Concern'd for Publick Liberty an Aversion to them, as a Sett of Men that will ever Vote and Act against it.

This Publick Liberty is the Word and Cry of the Party. But when you Ask them what they Mean by it, or where they wou'd Fix it? They cannot tell. They all Agree that it is in a Common-Wealth-Frame, against

gainst *Monarchy*, which is their *Aversion*: But then, Is this *Common-Wealth* to be Founded upon the *Power* of the *People*? Yes, yes, that is Agreed on all hands. So far we go on Smoothly; But are not the *People* to be Represented by *Members* of their own *Election*? And is not a *House of Commons* so Chosen, Virtually the *People*, and the whole *Power* of the *People* lodg'd with them? Here they begin to Boggle! For there have been *Houses of Commons* that have not Pleas'd them. And we have seen them set up *Legion* against the *Commons*, Nay, Appeal to the *Lords* from them. And they whose former *Measures* of *Obedience* were all Centur'd in the *House of Commons*, as the only true *Representative* of the *People*, Now, face about, and Compare them to the *Tyranny* of the *Decem-viri* at *Rome*, of the *Ephori* at *Sparta*, of the *Council* of *Four hundred* at *Athens*, of the *Commons* at *Carthage*, and whatever can render them *Odious* to the *People*.

Now, No *Multitude*, either Represented or Collective, has been at any time very Nice in observing the *Distinction*, between *Liberty* and *Licentiousness*.

The *Commons* have been perpetually Mistaken in the *Merits* of the *Causes* and the *Persons*, as well as in the *Consequences* of *Impeachments*, upon the *Peace* of the *State*; and therefore were by no Means Qualify'd either as *Prosecutors* or *Judges* in such *Matters*.

The *Commons* think themselves concern'd in *Point of Honour*, to *Condemn* whatever *Person* they *Impeach*, however frivolous the *Articles* were upon which they began; or however *Weak* the *Surmises* whereon they were to Proceed in their *Proofs*.

The *Body of Commons*, either Collective, or Represented, have the ill Fortune to be generally Led and Influenc'd by the very Worst among themselves.

There is hardly to be found through all Nature a greater Difference between Two Things, than there is between a Representing Commoner, in the Function of his Publick Calling, and the same Person, when he Acts in the Common Office of Life: When he has got Near the Walls of his Assembly, he Assumes and Affects an intire Sett of very different *Airs*; he conceives himself a Being of a Superiour Nature to those without; and Acting in a Sphere, where the *Vulgar Methods* for the Conduct of Human Life, can be of no Use. He is Listed in a Party, where he neither knows the Temper, nor the Designs, nor perhaps the Person of his Leader; and has neither Opinions, nor Thoughts, nor Actions, nor Talk, that he can call his own; but all is Convey'd to him by his Leader, as Wind is through an Organ.

Now, methinks, there cannot be a Clearer Conviction to any Man, that has the the Power of Thinking left, of the Folly and Inconsistency of his own Schemes, than to see himself forc'd to Tack-about, and Over-turn every Stone he had Laid in his Foundation!

Where

A Dis-
course of the
Contests
and Dispen-
sations be-
tween the
Nobles and
Commons
in Athens
and Rome,
Ec. p. 41.
p. 42.
p. 44.

p. 46.

p. 57 58.

Where wou'd these Men have the *Centre of Government* plac'd? Indeed they know not. They wou'd have it *Fixed* no where. But *Fleet-ing* and *Rolling* about, just as their *Fancies* Alter, or to serve any *Present Occasion* or *Design* they have in hand.

This is the *Publick Liberty* they Plead for. And for not Understanding of this, the *Bishops* are not fit to *Vote* in *Parliaments*; and the *Clergy* are a *Sett of Men* we ought to have in Utter *Aversion*!

XV. But if we Exclude them from any *Civil Capacity* (tho' they have some *Rights* and *Interest* in the *Nation*, like other Men) will we leave them to their own *Province*, to meddle in *Affairs* of the *Church* and of *Religion*?
 Of the No. tion, That Schism is only in Es- sentials.

No, Nor that neither. They have *Jure Divino's* there, as well as in *Civil Government*! And these may come, some time or other to Interfere with the *Publick Liberty*! They'll make a *Noise* about *Schism*; and, may be, endeavour to place it upon the *Honest Protestant Dissenters*, who Differ not with them in the *Essentials* of *Religion*; And there can be no *Schism*, where the *Differences* are not in *Essentials* of *Religion*.

But they will tell us, That this us'd to be call'd *Herefie*, where the difference is about the *Essentials* of *Faith*. And that there may be *Schism* without that. And that the *Smaller* and more *Inconsiderable* the *Causes* are for which we make a *Schism* in the *Church* (which in the *Scripture Language* is a *Rending* of *Christ's Body* to *Pieces*) the *Sin* is much the *Greater*; to Do it for *Nothing*, or for *Trifles*. As it wou'd be in a *Son* or *Servant* in any *Family*, to set up *Factions* and *Parties* there, when no *Sufficient Provo-cation* was given by the *Father* or *Master*. As, suppose, for the *Calour* or *Fashion* of his *Cloaths*, for the *Order* and *Time* of *Eating*, and such like *Indifferent* things.

That the *Gain-saying* of *Korah* was about no *Essential*, either of *Worship* or *Doctrine*, except that only of *Church-Government*, which is *Essential* to a *Church*, as it is a *Society*.

That the *Great Schism* at *Corinth* was by making *Parties*, and setting up for *One* against *Another*, for *Edification*, *Greater Edification*!

That there can be no *Peace* or *Order* in any *Church*, *Family*, or *Nation*, where such a *Liberty* is *Indulg'd*, of making *Divisions*, for every *Pretence*. And that it is *Contrary* to the *Truth* of the *Gospel*.

That this *Notion* of *Schism* was brought in merely to *Countenance* the *Dissenters*, and to *Excuse* their *Occasional Conformity*.

That if such *Hypocrisie* be *Encourag'd*, it is opening of our *Folds* to the *Wolves*, who then may safely come to us, not only in *Sheeps*, but in *Shepherds Cloathing* too.

And

And if there be *Rewards* for *Hypocrites*, it is like to prove a *Thriving Trade* amongst us.

And the *State* will find their *Account* in it, as well as the *Church*. XVI.
They will be *Serv'd* both alike ——— *Occasionally*. Apply'd.

It was not *Unpleasant* once in a *Coffee-house*, to hear one of these *Occasional Whigs*, vent his *Spleen* against some body he suppos'd a *Jacobite* in the last *Reign*, who had *Qualify'd* himself for a *Place*, which the other had expected; He rail'd violently against him, and said he was an *Hypocrite* to take an *Oath* to *K. William*, whom he knew he did not *Love*, and wou'd *Destroy*, if it were in his *Power*, and in his *Common Conversation*, where he *Durst*, spoke all the *Spiteful* things he cou'd of him. The other *Reply'd*, with a *Smile*, That it was but an *Occasional Oath*, for a good *Place*, and that he did it as *Sincerely*, as the other took the *Sacrament* in the *Church of England*, for the same *Reason*; That *Occasional Loyalty* was as *Honest* a thing, as *Occasional Conformity*; And that we might make *Bold* with any *Earthly King*, in that wherein we took *Freedom* with *God Almighty*. That an *Oath* in a *Secular Court*, is not a more *Solemn* thing, than *Receiving* the *Holy Sacrament* in our *Church*, with all the *Holy Offices*; where it is *Requir'd*, That we do it without all *Scruple* or *Doubtfulness*. That to take an *Oath*, of *Course*, to *K. Will.* without being much his *Friend*, is as *Decent* and as *Moral*, as to see a *Whig* upon his *Knees* at the *Altar*, wishing it under *Ground*, all the while, and in his *Heart* determining to *Blow-up* that *Church* with which he doth *Communi- cate*, and *Railing* at it with his *Mouth*, as soon as he has made his *Escape* out at the *Door*: And *Forces* himself (if it be a *Force*) to *Act* this *Hypocrisy*, on *Purpose*, to have an *Opportunity* to *Destroy* the *Church* more *Effectual- ly*. Whereas, said he, if I were the *Man* you *Represent* me; I only do it for a few *Pence* that I may *Live*, without any *Malice*; For, what- ever my *Sentiments* are, I never did, nor ever will *Betray* any body. And if I be as *Loose* as you please in the *Matter* of *Oaths*, it little be- comes you *Mr. Whig*, to *Upbraid* me with it, for I learnt it from you. Was not your whole *Cause* carry'd on, from the beginning of your *Coven- ant*, with *Swearing* quite through what you never *Intended* to *Perform*? Were you not *Swearing* of your *Allegiance* to *K. Char. 1.* back'd with all the *Oaths* and *Protestations* of your *Sincerity*, and *Appealing* to *God*, who knew your *Hearts*, at the same time that you were *Preparing*, and even *Ready* to *Cut* his *Throat*? As you *Intended* to have *Serv'd* his *Son* *K. Char. 2* at the *Rye-House*, yet still *Swore* true *Allegiance* to him! And are you not still *Ready* to *Swear* that this was a *Sham*, and a *Court-Plot*, tho' every one of your *Dear Friends* who *Died* for it, did *Confess* it at the *Gallows*?

I suppose they were *Brib'd* to it, to be *Hang'd* and *die* with a *Lye* in their *Mouths* against *Themselves*, and the *Party* for which they *Suffer'd*! And have you *Forgot* your *Oaths* and fine *Addresses* to *K. James 2.* still *Calling* *God* to *Witness* your *Sincerity*! These were not *Forced* upon you, Nor *Impos'd* by *Law* with *Penalties*. But they were your *Never-failing Artifice*, to *Gain Credit* where you meant to *Betray*! Yet now you are the only Men fit to be *Trusted*! And can have no *Mercy* upon a *Poor Man*, who has a *Common Oath* *Ramm'd* down his *Throat*, because he wants *Bread* to put into it; and do's it but *Occasionally* neither, and intends to *Repent* as soon as he can.

I cannot say, That the *Whig* was *Asham'd* at all this (for that I never saw) but he grew *Angry*, and *Flew* out of the *House*.

XVI.

Why Forty
One Re-
member'd

There is Another Great *Objection* against the *New Association* yet behind, which is, That it *Runs* back to *Former* times, and makes such a *Stir* with *Forty One*, which ought to be *Forgotten*, as it is *Forgiven*.

But these *Gentlemen* will not let it be *Forgotten*. Have they not this *very* Year, in the *Abridgment* of *Baxter's Life*, *Reviv'd* again that *Cursed* as *False* as *Malicious Calumny* against the *Royal Martyr* *K. Char. I.* That he had a *Hand*, and gave *Orders* for the *Bloody Massacre* and *Rebellion* in *Ireland*, in *Forty One*? For Answer to which, I refer to the *Case of Present Concern*, Dated *January* the *10th*, 1702. beforementioned. And do they not still keep up their *Horrid Calves-Head-Feasts*, of which we have the *Secret History* lately *Printed*, with some of their *Detestable Anthems*, which are there *Sung*, in *Ridicule* of the *King's Martyrdom*, and *Praise* of the *Bloody Regicides*? And would these have *Forty One* to be *Forgotten*? They would have it *Forgot* by *Us*, that we should not think of all their *Odious Villanies*, and be upon our *Guard* Now, that they are just upon *Acting* the same over again. But since they will not let it *Die*, it shall be *Remember'd*; And, if a *Judgment* be not *Determin'd* upon this *Land*, it will have the *Effect*, to put it out of their *Power*, who have given us *convincing Proofs*, that they want not the *Will* to *Destroy* both our *Monarchy* and the *Church*.

XVIII.

Instances
before For-
ty One, in
the Reign
of K. Jam.
1.

They have been told in the *New Association* of their *Treatment* of *K. Charles I.* and downwards. But now I will go a little higher with them, to shew that they have been one from the beginning, and never *Alter'd*, but to the *Worse*.

It ought not to be forgotten in what manner they us'd *K. James I.* When he was almost wholly in their *Power*, before he came into *Eng-land*.

land. And to save the Reader the pains of going to many *Histories* for it. I refer him to a *Pamphlet* lately *Re-printed*, call'd *Presbytery Display'd*, Sold by *John Nutt*, near *Stationers-Hall*. There you will find how they Extended their *Spiritual Sword* (like the *Pope*) to all sort of *Temporals*. They took upon them, when their *Censures* were not obey'd, to Compel Men to it, by Arbitrary *Fines* and *Imprisonments*; and *Inflicted* them by their own *Authority*. Nay, they made *Laws* as to *Civil Matters*, suspended *Suits at Law* in the *Secular Courts*, and brought them to be Determined in their *Assemblies*; and for *Disobedience* to their *Orders*, fell upon the *Judges*, and treated them as *Criminals*. They Regulated the *King's Privy-Council*, and would suffer none to sit there whom they did not Approve of. They order'd the *Greatest Men* of the Nation, even of the *Blood-Royal* into *Banishment*, and Compell'd the *King* to *Execute* their *Cominands*. And they would not give him leave to *Recall* any whom he had *Banish'd*, who were not pleasing to *Them*, and would give no other Reason for it but *That*. Nay, to *Rescue* the *King* from *Evil Councillors*, they laid *Hands* upon his *Sacred Person*, *Imprison'd* him, carried him from *Place to Place*, and put him into what *Hands* they thought fit. They wou'd not suffer him to *Entertain* a *Foreign Ambassador*, but according to their *Pleasure*; And when the *King* had appointed a *Day* for his *Publick Entertainment*, without first having *Ask'd* their *Leave*, they in *Contempt*, and to shew their *Sovereign Authority*, *Proclaim'd* that *Day* a *Fast*, and punish'd such as durst *Transgress*. They look'd upon *Parliaments* but as the *Executioners* of their *Decrees*, and therefore wou'd *Reverse* what *Acts* they pleas'd, and *Order* what other *Acts* of *Parliament* should be made. And, upon *Disobedience*, besides *Fining* and *Imprisoning* particular *Members*, their *Discipline* Extended to what they call'd *Inter-Communing*, that is, *Forbidding* all whatsoever, to have any *Communication* with them, either by *Word* or *Writing*, under the *Penalty* of being *Themselves* treated in all the *aforesaid Manners*; which is, in *Effect*, a *Sentence of Death*, like that of the *Romans*, *Interdico te Aqua & Igne*. And this was not only the *Practice* of their *General Assemblies*, and other *Kirk-Judicatures* (and even of some of their private *Ministers*, in their *Transcendent Capacity*) but it was the *Stated Discipline* of their *Kirk*, which in the *aforesaid Pamphlet* you will find particularly set down.

And having thus taken the whole *Civil Government*, into their own hands, as the *Pope* has done, and by vertue of the same *Distinction*, *In ordine ad Spiritualia*, they follow'd him likewise in that which is a *Natural Consequence* of the other, to *Exempt* themselves from being *Accountable* to the *Civil Power*, even for *Civil Crimes*. Thus some of their *Ministers* in *Scotland* being call'd before the *King* and *Council* for *Express*

Treason vented in their *Pulpits*, Refus'd to Answer, *Protested* against their *Authority* to bring them to an *Account*; and *Appeal'd* to their *Kirk-Session*, as the only Competent *Judicature* over *Ministers*; And when the *King* complain'd to the *Session* of it, they *Justify'd* what the *Ministers* had done, and *Threaten'd* his *Majesty*, if he shou'd any more *Infringe* the *Liberties* of the *Church*.

XIX.
The Pope
and the
Presbyterians
have
Hurt the
Spiritual
Power of
the Church,
by their
Usurping
upon the
Civil Pow-
er.

Let me here take Notice, That this *Exorbitant* and *Wicked Pretence* set up by the *Pope* and the *Presbyterians*, of *Extending* the *Power* of the *Church* to a *Civil Power*, even to the *Deposing* of *Kings* (as has been *Practis'd* by them Both) has *Render'd* the *True* and only *Inherent SPIRITUAL Power* of the *Church* (which is *Independent* of all *Earthly Power* whatsoever) suspected to *Kings* and *States*; and given them *Occasion* to *Exceed* as much, on the other side, and lay their hands even upon the *Spiritual Power* of the *Church*, to *Curb*, *Limit*, and *Garble* it, till they have *Squeez'd* the very *Life* and *Soul* out of it. Which is of no less *Evil-Consequence*, not only to the *Souls* of *Men*, and the *Efficacy* of *Religion*; but (for that same Reason) to the *Civil Government* it self, by *Loosening* the *Greatest Security* they have, which is, the *Conscience* of the *People*.

The *Medium* betwixt these is *Plain*, and is the *Truth*, which is, To keep these *Powers*, the *Sacred* and the *Civil*, as they are in their own *Nature*, *Distinct* and *Independent* of each other. They *Act* in two *Spheres*, and therefore can never *Interfere*. But if either *Encroach* upon the other, there is *Confusion*, without *End* or *Remedy*.

King Jam. I. was *Rescu'd* out of the hands of this *Faction*, by his *Accession* to the *Crown* of *England*; and, as himself said, as soon as he was *Enter'd* upon the *English-Border*, he was then *King* of *Scotland*. But they follow'd him into *England*, and *Propagating* with the *English Puritans*; whom he had somewhat *Eas'd* from the *Restraints* that *Q. Elizabeth* had put upon them, they gave him *Trouble* enough all his *Reign*. And getting more *Liberty* from his *Son*, they made him a *Glorious King*, as they had often *Promis'd* him, and *Crown'd* him with *Martyrdom*! And if they be ever, otherwise than thus, *Worse* than their *Word*, it will be, when it is not in their *Power*.

XX.
The Use
of Look-
ing into
Former
Times.

Now they see the Reason, why *Forty One* was mention'd in the *New Assoc.* And I wish every body, especially the *Queens Majesty* wou'd Read that Excellent *History* of it, in the *Life* of her *Royal Grandfather*, left her as a *Legacy* by her *Noble Grandfather*, the *Lord Chancellor Clarendon*.

it wou'd be a Faithful *Councillor* to her, and let her see what she must expect, if she be *Afraid* of, or give way to that *Faction*.

Who are Enemies to all *History*, and wou'd have none look higher than our own Times, lest they see their *Picture* there, every where. But Wise Men look before them.

The Bloody *Revolutions* in former Ages teach us the best of any thing in the World, how to Guard against the like *Mischiefs* in our own. There we may see, that there is *No new Thing under the Sun*. No *Pretences* for *Embroiding* of a Kingdom, or *Invading* that of our *Neighbours*; No *Arts*, no *Machinations*, no *Plots*, no *Disimulation*, *Treachery*, *False Promises*, *Invented Lyes*, and *Stood in* to out-face the Sun; *Foul Aspersing* the Best of Men, and *Extolling* the Worst; *Mis-representing* the Fairest Intentions, and *Glossing* over the most *Wicked*: And lastly, no *Miseries* or *Dreadful Calamities* which have Pursu'd a People thus *Deluded*, but what we shall find to have been all Acted before our Time, and set as so many *Beacons* to Warn us from *Splitting* upon the same *Rock*, to keep us from being *Deceiv'd* by the same *Specious Pretences* of *Rebels* and *Usurpers*; and *Trusting* to their *Faith*, never yet *Kept* any of them, after they had, by these Means, got into the *Power*; no, never, no Instance of it to be found in all *History*! Which wou'd make one think, That the *Older* the World grew, it shou'd grow the *Wiser*. But we *Forget* former Times; and every *Age* with us, Begins the *World*. We will be *Wise*, at our own *Expence*; And find it out, about the time we come to *Die*.

If the *Sicilians* had duly *Adverted* the *Examples* before their Times, they had not left themselves an *Example* to Future Ages. They had never sent for such *Deliverers*, of whom *Plutarch* gives us this Account in his *Life of Timolcon*.

They pretended that the End of their coming was to Preserve Liberty, and depose Tyrants; but having gain'd the Power, they did so Tyrannize themselves, that the Reign of former Opressors seem'd a Golden Age, if compar'd with the Arbitrariness and Exaction of these New Deleverers: Which made the Sicilians esteem those much more Happy, who had expir'd in Servitude, than they who surviv'd to see such a Dismal FREEDOM.

But it is not only the Present Age, and Persons of those who have a The Cer-
hand in Disturbing of settl'd Governments, and bringing about New-*zible Ef-*
fagl'd *Revolutions*, that suffer for their *Rebellion* and *Treachery*; This is a *se* of *Pe-*
Sin which God does *Visit* to the *Third* and *Fourth* Generation. *pular Re-*
volutions.

And there is a Reason even *Natural* in it; for when a Government is over-turn'd to the very *Foundations*, it must take a *Long* time, and many

Changes, before it can be *Re-settl'd*; Variety of *Factions* over-powering and Topping one another; and such a *Distrust* gets into Men's Minds by the often *Treacheries* and *Betraying* that are Incident to all *Revolutions*, as the *Well-Inclin'd* know not whom to *Confide* in; and none dare *Trust* another. So that there seems almost no other way to Reduce the De-luded People to their Senses, but a long train of *Misery* and *Divisions*, perhaps of *Ages*, till it grows Apparent to them, That there is no Me-thod of *Settlement* but returning to the Old *Foundations* and *Constitution*. The *Histories* of all *Ages* and *Nations* make good the Truth of this. Nor are our own Barren of such *Examples*.

What dreadful *Calamities* ensu'd upon the *Usurpation* of our *Hen. iv*! And tho' he, his Son *Hen. v.* and his Son *Hen. vi.*, held the *Crown* Suc-cessively, yet cou'd not this Gain them a *Thorough Settlement*; Nor the *Contest* of above an *Hundred Years*, with the Destruction of so many *Branches* of the *Royall Family*; so many whole *Families* of the *Nobility* utterly *Extinguish'd*; And more *Rivers* of the *Blood* of the poor People spilt, and more *Treasure* wasted, (as our *Historians* observe) than had Cost the Nation in *Twice Conquering* of *France*; I say, all this cou'd never bring the *Kingdom* to a *Settlement*, nor the *Subjects* to their *Liberty* and *Property*, thro' all that long Tract of Time, till the *Right Line* was, at last, Happily *Restor'd*. And then, and not till then, their *Confusions* had an End.

And we must not *Forget*, but still *Repeat* (notwithstanding the *Rage* of the *Faction*) what is nearer to us, even the *Revolution* of *Forty One*. Wherein *Three Flourishing Kingdoms* were set all in a *Flame*, which yet that O-cean of *Blood* then Spilt cou'd not *Quench*; The *Laws* and *Constitution* were totally *Subverted*, under the Pretence of *Preserving* them *Inviolat*e; The *Lives*, *Liberty*, and *Property* of the *Subject* were *Expos'd* to the *Ar-bitrary Swords* of the *Deliverers*; whom they pleas'd were made *Delin-quents*, their *Estates* *Sequester'd*, Persons *Imprison'd*, *Banish'd*, *Murth*er'd; The *Bishops* were *Despoil'd* of their *Revenues*, *Rights*, and *Honours*, and at last *Trod* under foot, and Quite *Suppress'd*, the *Churches* *Demolish'd*, and turn'd into *Shops* and *Stables*, the *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy* were *Abolish'd* by *Act* of *Parliament*, first in *Scotland*, to Smooth the way, and then (the *Usurpation* lasting long enough) in *England*, by those whose first *Decla-rations* were for the *Maintaining* of all these; And, lastly, Greater *Taxes* were Rais'd in their *Short* (but too long) *Reign*, than by All the *Kings* since *William* the *Conquerour* put together, on Pretence of *Easing* the Nation from *Ship-Money*, and some *Trifles*, which they Pretended were not *Legal*. Under all of which, and all they call'd *Tyranny* in that *Blessed King*, while they *Groan'd* (as the *Faction* *Clamour'd*) that is, for *Ten Tears* be-fore

fore the Parliament of Forty One (all which Time they said) That the King did Govern Arbitrarily without Parliaments, for in all that Space there had been none) the People never saw before so Glorious a Season for Peace, Plenty, Liberty, Property, Flourishing of Trade, and every thing that could make a Nation Great and Happy, as our Histories do Witness, and the Faction themselves cannot deny. Former Parliaments knew no other way of Raising Taxes than by Subsidy, the old Antient way of the Kingdom. But these Usurpers and Deliverers finding that what Maintained the Grandeur of former Kings and Regular Government, could not come near their Vast and Unlimited Expence, Invented New Ways and Means of Raising such Extraordinary Sums, as never was known before in England; And Taxes are like Cart-Ruts, the more we use them they grow the Deeper, and it is Harder to get out of them. And Rightful Kings Love the Easiest way to Money, tho Invented by Usurpers, Witness the Excise and other Ways and Means of that Usurpation continued in the Reign of K. Char. 2d. And the Antient, and formerly thought most Equal Method of Subsidies, from that time laid aside. Thus we may Read our Sin in our Punishment; And Pay for every New Rebellion to all Succeeding Generations, let our Kings themselves be never so Merciful: for it is a Load we Tye upon our selves with our own Hands; And therefore have none to Complain of but our selves; nor any Remedy, but to Avoid the like Evils for the Future.

But, to Proceed, This Usurpation went on and Prosper'd, till it At-
 tained to the utmost of its Wishes; The Church Abolished, the King
 Martyr'd, the Royal Family Banish'd, the Constitution Overthrown, and
 the Government put wholly into the Hands of the Usurpers; They were
 Recogniz'd and Address'd at Home, Own'd and Treated with Abroad; the
 Royal-Party were Dispers'd, some Fled, others Absconded, others in Goals,
 and the Rest Invisible. The young King was forc'd to Fly into France,
 and then out of France, with his Two Royal Brothers, to Sojourn where
 they cou'd find a Place; the successful Usurper having forc'd the French
 Court to Own him, and Treat with him. Many grew weary of their
 Loyalty, and gave in to the Usurpation, for Bread or Preferment; They
 cou'd Fight for the King, but were not able to Starve with him. The
 Usurpers had put a Price upon his Head, and Effectually Attainted him.
 And presently after the timely Death of their Hero, in the Year 1659,
 they Abjur'd him, and the whole Royal Family of the STUARTS with
 him. Foolishly thinking to Tye them with the Conscience of an Oath,
 against Right; whose Consciences they had so often before Debauch'd
 with the Breach of many Oaths they had taken for the Right. How-

XXII.
 How the
 Usurpation
 of Forty
 One Con-
 cluded
 Happily, at
 Last.

ever

ever they thought, that by this they had *Defeated* the *Hopes* of him and his *Adherents* for ever. Which yet hinder'd not his *Restoration* the very next Year, *An. 1660.* And *Peace* and *Settlement* return'd with him; without the *Power* of *France*, or one Drop of *Blood* shed in the Cause.

And the *Legion* which had so long *Possess'd* the *Deluded People*, with *Anti-Monarchical* and *Mob-Principles*, was, for a Time, *Driven* but not *Rooted out*. For being first *Neglected*, and then *Indulg'd*, they have had *Leisure* to *Grow*, and soon *Produc'd* a *New Crop* of *Devils*: Who are *Enter'd* into the *Herd* of *Swine*; We heard them lately *Grunt* from *Kent*.

And now they *Appear* bare-fac'd. They have set up their *Standard* in *Scotland*, in a *New Covenant*. They have *Fomented Divisions* in *England*, which they still *Endeavour* more and more. They have fill'd the Nation with *Poysonous Pamphlets* against *Church* and *Crown*, and particularly the *Royal Family* of the *Stuarts*; with foul *Insinuations* against the present *Queen*, whom they both *Flatter* and *Threaten*, as they do the *Bishops*, and all that will be *Impos'd* upon by them. *The Lord rebuke them*, and *Save us from them*. And *open our Eyes that we may see the things that belong unto our Peace*.

March 25. 1703.

F I N I S.

A Supplement.

Since the fore-going Sheets went to the Press, there is farther Account come of the Proceedings of the *Faction* in *Scotland*, which it may not be Ungrateful to the *English* Reader to know.

The *Queen's Majesty* has still more and more Exceeded in Her Favours to Them. Her Letter to the *Privy Council* there has been Publish'd in our *Prints*. Wherein She Treats them as the *Church Establish'd* by Law, and Commands them to be Supported, In their Superior and Inferior Jurisdictions, such as, *Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods and General Assemblies*, &c. in Consequence of the *Episcopal Church*, they are call'd by the Name of *Dissenters*, and barely *Protestants*. And no more is Ask'd for them than a *Sufferance* only in their *Meeting-Houses* (such as the *Jews* Enjoy here) not any *Toleration* by Law.

I.
The Rab-
bling of an
Episcopal
Meeting at
Glasgow,
in Con-
tempt of
Her Maje-
sty's Gra-
cious Let-
ters.

Cou'd there be Greater *Condescensions* from an *Episcopal Queen*! And what Returns were to be Expected for such *Grace and Goodness*!

Now you shall see. It was foretold in the *First Part* of the *New Assoc.* (not by way of *Prophecy*, but from their Constant *Practices*, and their *Principles*) That the Greater the *Condescensions* from the *Queen*; the Greater wou'd be their *Insolence*; And that they wou'd make use of it, to *Magnifie* their own *Strength*, and *Terrifie* the *Government*. Which they have verified *Adamusim*.

What Reception this most *Gracious Letter* from the *Queen* met with amongst them, I will give you in the Words of the Letter which brought the Account, Dated at *Edinburgh, March 13.* as follows.

We have had a Letter from the *Queen* to the *Council* in Favour of the *Episcopal Clergy*, Recommending them to the Protection of the *Government*. And though the Paper be Perplex'd in its Expressions, yet it is what is not to be De-

monstr'd

murr'd upon, seeing it is Plain that a Favour is thereby intended. And therefore pursuant thereto, Endeavours have been us'd to Set up a Meeting-House at Glasgow; And tho' they made Disturbance to the Sermon that was there made on the 30th of January; it was again Try'd on Sunday the last of February, which ended without any Commotion. But it did so stir the Humours of the Party, that it was not thought safe to Venture a Second Time on their Patience and Modesty. So a Person Qualify'd according to Law was sent from this, seconded with Letters from the Chancellor and Advocate, to the Magistrates, and the Lord Kilmaers, who is Commandant, to see him Officiate Securely. But whether the Magistrates were slack or not, I shall not say, but there was such a Tumult there on Sunday the 7th of March, that Sir John Bell's House (where the Meeting was) was Assaulted and Spoil'd, his Garden and Summer-House Ruin'd and Wasted, and it was no small Mercy that the Minister Suffer'd no Prejudice, tho' other Persons are Hurt and Wounded. There was a Resort of People from several of the Neighbouring Parishes of the Country, and it made a Terrible Concourse. But the Lord Kilmaer's coming with his Forces, that are yet but Raw and Un-disciplin'd Men, did Abate their Insolence in some Measure. The Matter being Represented to the Council, the Result was, to write a Letter to the Magistrates of Glasgow, in which they were Ordered to Repair Sir John Bell's Damages, to Seize the Persons Active in the Tumult, and to secure the Peace for the Future, otherwise that the Government would do it, by sending more Forces amongst them. This is the first Fray against Authority. Whether it will be the last of this Sort, time must declare. For the Humours of that Party will grow, according as they find the Government either Inclined, or in a Capacity to deal with them; for Gentleness and the Weakness of a Government have the same Construction, and the like Fate with them.

Here we find that the only Crime was Episcopacy; for he that then did Officiate was otherwise, in all Points Qualify'd, that is, had taken the Oaths requir'd by the Government.

Thus the Faction who only Pretend to be Afraid of their Toleration here, which has, in no sort, been Invaded, but on the Contrary, Confirm'd both by the Queen and the Commons, against whom they Clamour'd; And think that the very Naming of their Toleration, or Touching it but with one of our Fingers, is a Sufficient Ground to Raise all their Mobb into Arms, to oppose such a Persecution: Yet, at the same time, will Afford neither Protection nor Toleration to the Episcopal Church in Scotland; And that, when the Queen Desires it.

Which is the very Reason, why they are more Outragious against it; For that, according to their Maxim, will Frighten her the more; And render Themselves more Considerable.

That this is the Reason, appears, Because in the last Reign they suffer'd these Episcopal Meetings more Patiently, when there were many more

of

of them than there are now. And what other Reason can be given, but the Difference of the Two Reigns? One was *their own*, the other they Intend to *Make* so, or to *Break* it.

If it be said, That this was only a *Rabble*. Answ. It was a more *Formidable* one than that which gave *Rise* to and *Began* the *Rebellion* there in the Year 1637. And has been much more Countenanced by those of them that are in *Authority*, than the Former at first was. For,

The General-Assembly there met within *Three Days* after this *Up-Roar*, that is, on the *10th* of this same *March*. And what Notice did they take of this *Riot*? Did they *Discourage* the like for the Future? Or express any *Displeasure* against such open *Contempt* and *Violation* of her *Majesties* Commands? Especially when so much Notice had been taken of it by the *Lords* of the *Privy-Council*, that they could not pretend Ignorance of what then, at that very time, made so Great a Noise.

No. None of these Things! They had not been used to these Methods! That was not the Use they had to make of it! Of what *Themselves* in all Appearance, had set on foot! For the *Moderator* of the Last *General-Assemb.* And who, of Course, by their *Constitution*, was to open the next, even *Mess. David Williamson*, in his *Sermon* before the *Mobb* within *Doors*, taking Leave of his *Text* (which was *Psal. cii. 13.*) fell into a *Virulent*, *Tedious*, and *In-coherent Invektive* against the Reigns wherein *Episcopacy* was *Established*; And Justifying their own former *Rebellions*, upon that Account; Told them that the *Breach* of the *Covenant* was the Great *Sin* which brought those *Judgments* of the former Reigns upon them; And *Exhorted* them to Adhere *Zealously* to their *Covenanted* Work of *Reformation*; And assured them, That *Prelacy* should not come in there without *Blood*. These were his words, without *BLOOD*! This is *Sounding* the *Alarm* with a Witness! This is much more *Hast* than they made before *Forty One*! They took *Tears* then, to what they do in *Months* now! And if they be let go on, they will soon *Prosper*! I have been told of some *Great Men* there, who were very Avers to them, that now Turn to them, since they see the *Tide* run that way. A little *Time* will put this Matter past *Remedy*. I wish I may be more a *False Prophet* in what is to come, than the *New Assoc.* has prov'd in what they have done hitherto. There is something looks like *Witchcraft* in our Case.

For what is it else (in the Name of Wonder!) that can make any Man of Common Understanding in Love with these *Folks* or their *Principles*? I mean even the most *Refin'd* of them *Here* in *England*. I have read several of their *Books* and *Pamphlets* (with which the Nation has of late so much Swarm'd) And I have *Convers'd* with some, thought the most *Inge-*

II.

An Answer
to Mr.
Lock, and
other PO-
PULAR
Orators.

nious among them, and that, upon their Beloved Topick of Government: And I profess I could never meet with Common Sense from any of them upon that Subject; Nor any of them that would Endure three Arguments closely Purfu'd. They love Haranging, but hate Reasoning. They Shoot Flying. But have no Principles that they will Stick to. They run Back and Forward, and you can never Fix them.

Some of them are for several Powers, in the same Government, each Absolute, and Un-Accountable to the other.

Others are for making a Ballance betwixt the same Power and it self.

† Book
2d. Chap.
viii. p. 316.
Printed
1690.

The Great Lock in his Two Treatises of Government, † makes the Consent of every Individual Necessary. Which is only Impossible. For then every one must, at least, Vote for his Representative. Which is not Practicable in any one County, much less a Kingdom.

And yet this Nonsense is Necessary to their Scheme. For how otherwise could every Man's Life and Liberty be Devolv'd upon Another by his own Consent? Which they make the Original of all Government.

They Fancy a Time (but cannot Shew it) when there was no Government at all in the World, except that Natural one of a Father over his Children; And that Men met, of their own Heads, to Erect a Political Government among themselves.

But then the whole World must Meet to Canton it self out by Plurality of Voices, into such and such several Countries and Districts.

They forget how the World was Divided, by the Great Miracle of the Divison of Tongues, each Sorting with those of his own Language; And each Sort became a Distinct Nation. And God set a Ruler over every one of them, Every one of whose Names are set down in the Tenth of Genesis. Thus was the World Divided in their Nations, are after their Languages. Since which time there have been Conquests, wicked Usurpations and Revolutions in all Nations. But the Prevailing Party always Carry'd it, and never let it come to a Free Election of the People, that Pretty Chimera of our Men of Wit! Of Whigs and Fanaticks! Whose Principles have Excluded all Notions of Right and Wrong, of Just, or Unjust.

They Laugh at all Divine Right in Government, of which the Holy Scriptures are so Full; And which only can Determine Conscience. Without this, every Man has as much Right to Reign as Another.

To avoid all this, and because they wou'd have God on their Side, they bring Him in at Second-hand, that is, to Conclude Him too by the Voices of the People. So that whatever they do, is the Act of God, and has His Authority. As Saul Pleaded for himself, in Obeying the Voice of the People.

But

But if you Ask them, where God gave this Power to the People? For that the Scriptures are totally Silent in it, tho' they speak frequently of Kings having their Power from God, of their being His (not the Peoples) Anointed Vice-Gerents, and Carrying of His Sword, &c.

Then they run Back again, and say, That it is a Natural Right in the People, and so a Divine Right.

And the Natural Right they Prove, as Aforesaid, by Supposing (against the Plain Matter of Fact in the Scriptures) That God did Ordain no Government at all among Mankind, but left them, like the Brute Beasts, to Range about in the Wide World, every Man and his Children (like a Fox and his Cubs) to Ravage and Prey where they cou'd. Till at last, by their own Sagacity, they found out that Contrivance of Government; And Erected it, by the Plurality of Voices; And upon their own Authority; To which God being Oblig'd to concur, it so became Divine! And the Voice of the People, from that Time forth, was the Voice of God!

But this Voice of the People (like the Roaring of the Sea) is so Confus'd, so Tempestuous, that we know not what it says; nor is it of one Tune an Hour together.

Every Party and Faction call Themselves the People, and Act in the Name of the People. The People are Drawn out in Armies, to Fight for the People! And both Sides are the People! Why do not the Armies go to Vote, and let the Major Number carry it?

There never was, since Adam, and we may safely say never will be till Dooms-Day, not only a Fair Representation of the People, but any Representation of them at all, that is, in the Sense of these Scheme-Mongers, where the Vote of every Individual is Necessary. And it must be Necessary, to Support their Scheme.

When did all the People of England (for Example) Choose the Freeholders to Vote for them? And Limit their Freeholds to be worth so much per Annum?

If they did not, then not only every Individual had no Vote, but much the Major Part of them had None. And they all had Lives and Liberties to Dispose of, as well as the rest. Where then is this Original of Government, upon the Election of the People! What is the Meaning of our being Free-born, and that None can have any Power over us, or any Laws be made, to which we are oblig'd, except by our own Consent, Forsooth!

Unless you mean, That Silence gives Consent; And who do not Oppose, are suppos'd to give Consent.

And then, None so Free-born, none such Free-Subjects as the Mutes of the Grand Signior!

Or the Subjects of Poland, where the *Vote* of every *Individual* that is *Present* at the *Election* of their *King* is requir'd; And one *Negative* hinders the *Election*. But then if any such be, they immediately Cut him to Pieces with their *Sabers*, and then cry, *Non Loquitur*.

This is *Freedom to Perfection*! It wou'd make one in Love with *Elective Governments*! Especially where the *Election* is put in the *People*!

Which it is not either in *Holland*, or at *Venice*. There they keep it in the *Hands* of their *Magistrates*. Else, they wou'd not long Subsist. Nor are those *Magistrates* Chosen by the *People*, but by the *Government*. The *People* are kept Down. And they have *Peace*.

The *Wisdom* of *God* saw, That the *People* are the worst *Judges* of their own *Good*. And that to give them *Liberty* wou'd be their *Destruction*. Therefore *He* Appointed *Government* amongst *Mankind*; it was none of their *Invention*, more than *Speech* or *Languages*. And for them to lay Claim to it, is *Usurping* upon *God*, and always ends in their *Confusion*.

It is *Confusion* in it self; For it is *Impossible* to *Fix* any *Government* upon the *Foot* of the *People*, as we have seen.

It has been told before, *Seft. xiv.* how those that one day are for *Placing* all in the *Commons*, the next are as much against them, and have *Recourse* to the *Lords*, to whom before they allow'd but a *Preca-rious* Share in the *Government*, as not being the *Representatives* of the *People*. Under which *Notion* they were all turn'd out in the *Rump Parliament* of *Forty One*. And it is within our *Memories*, when they *Demurr'd* upon a certain *Point*, That the word was, *We will do it without them*. What are they to *Oppose* what the *COMMONS* think best for the *Nation*? This was even *Their Word*, who now Run down the *Commons* as *Ignorant* in the *Good* of the *Nation*; and find their *Security* among the *Lords*!

Their *Schemes* are all *Confusion*. They will *Stick*, they will be *Determin'd* by Nothing, by no *Form* of *Government*, even of their own *Contriving*. For they have *Schemes* not only for the *Form* of *Government*, but for the *Administration*. And if that does not *Pleasant* them, in whatever *Form*, they are for *Down* with it, and try another *Project*! Then every one of them makes himself *Judge* both of the *Form*, and the *Administration*; and of what they call the *Good* of the *People*; of which they will not let the *People* themselves *Judge*, either *Collectively* or *Representatively*. This renders them *Intolerably Conceited* and *Insolent*, even in *Conversation*, paying no *Respect* to *Quality*, to any *Orders* or *Distinctions* of *Men*; thinking, that the *Wisdom* of the *World* is lodg'd with them! Therefore they have no *Patience* to be *Contradicted* in any thing; they must

must *Talk* all, and *Dictate*, or they cannot *Speak*. They love to *Hear* themselves, and be *Admir'd*; and while so, are never weary of *Declaiming*! But will Bear no *Dint* of *Argument*; That *lessens* their *Authority*! They *Reply* to such; That their *Speculations* are *Stuff*; but that they know not the *World*, and *Mankind*, and so forth, for an Hour together, if you will hear them.

This gains them *Gaping* and *Applause* with such as understand them not. And then they are in their *Kingdom*!

These Men whose chief *Topick* is the *Liberty* of the *People*, and against *Arbitrary Power*, are the most *Absolute* of any other in their *Families*, and so Proportionably, as they rise *Higher*. If they *Believ'd* *Themselves*, or their own *Pretences*, they wou'd go *Home*, and call a *Council* of their *Wives*, *Children* and *Servants*, and tell them that the *Master* of a *Family* was ordain'd for the *Good* of those that were put under his *Government*; that it was not to be Suppos'd such a Number of *Persons*, equal to *Himself* in *Nature*, were all Created merely for his *Lusts* and *Pleasures*; and that they must be the best *Judges* of what was for their own *Good*; And therefore, that they shou'd *Meet* and *Consult* together, as oft as they thought fit; and set him *Rules* for the *Government* of his *Family*; Which if he *Broke*, or that they thought so, for they are the *Judges* of that; then that they shou'd *Abdicate* him; and Choose another *Master* for *Themselves*. And God forbid, that he shou'd make a *Disturbance* in the *Family* for any thing that cou'd be call'd his *Right*, which was given to him to be *Administred* only for their *Good*!

The Reason is the same in a *Kingdom*, which is but a Great *Family*. And the like Treatment which one of these *Common-Wealths-Men* wou'd give to any of his *Family* (tho' it were his *Son*) that shou'd set up such *Doctrine* in his *House*, the same is his own Due, for all his *Lewd Harangues* to Stir up the *People* to *Rebellion*. And can any Believe, that a *Tyrant* in a *Family* would not prove the same upon a *Throne*? It has has ever prov'd so. And I desire no other *Test* for these *Publick Patrons* for *Liberty*, than to look into their *Conversation* and their *Families*. Then let any Man *Believe* them, if he *Can*; and *Trust* them, if he *Please*.

The *Jure Divino-Men* (for I have *Convers'd* with some of them too) are generally of another Strain. They having *Fixt* the *Original* of *Government* in the *Ordinance* of *God*, make a *Conscience* of their *Obedience*; and think themselves oblig'd to Pay *All* their *Due*, to all the *Distinctions* and *Orders* of *Men*; without which, they think, the *World* could not *Subsist*.

They

They find *Government* Instituted by God (and not left to the mere Dictates of *Nature*) when there were but *Two Persons* in the World; for He said to *Eve*, Gen. iii. 16. *Thou shalt be Subject to thy Husband, and he shall Rule over thee.* And in the same words the Authority of *Cain* the *First-Born* was Establish'd over his younger Brother *Abel*, tho' the Better Man, and more Belov'd of God, who tho' he had Accepted the Sacrifice of *Abel*, and Rejected that of *Cain*; yet he said to *Cain* concerning *Abel*, Gen. iv. 7. *He shall be Subject unto thee, and thou shalt Rule over him.* And when *Cain* built a City, and call'd it after the Name of his Son, it is not to be doubted, but that he did Rule over it.

From this time we have the Names of the *Patriarchs* before the *Flood*, tho' the *History* is very short, only by way of a *Genealogie*; wherein none but the *Eldest Son* is Nam'd, in whom the *Patriarchate* or *Government* Descended. The rest are Pass'd over under the General Appellation of *Sons* and *Daughters*. And it is said that there were then *Mighty Men, Men of Renown*. Gen. vi. 4.

After the *Flood*, when *Mankind* was *Increas'd* so far as fit to be Divided, that is, about an *Hundred Years* after, then God did Divide them into *Seventy Distinct Nations*, viz. of the *Sons of Shem* 26. of *Ham* 30, and of *Japheth* 14. for just so many are those nam'd, Gen. x. And it is said, Deut. xxxii. 8. *That it was the most High, who (then) Divided to the Nations their Inheritance, and separated the Sons of Adam.* And Eccclus. xvii. 17. *That in the Division of the Nations of the whole Earth, He set a Ruler over every People.* Some of these Retain their Names to this Day, as *Babylon* the Beginning of the *Kingdom of Nimrod*. And from his Son *Ashur* the *Assyrian Monarchy* was Nam'd; which was succeeded by that of the *Medes* and *Persians*, that by the *Grecian*, and that by the *Roman Monarchy*; And from the *Division* of the *Last* into the *East* and *West*, we have the Names of all the *Kings*, all the way down from *Nimrod* (in *Prophane History*, call'd *Belus*) to the *Present Emperor of Germany*, and the *Sultan at Constantinople*.

Where then shall we find a *Gap* to let in this *Imaginary Freedom* and *Election* of the *People*? What *Time* shall we Allot for that State of *Mankind*?

*Before the Laws of Servitude began,
When Wild in Woods the Noble Savage ran!*

And such a State must be suppos'd, to Found the *Original of Government* in the *People*.

But these Men, leaving the *Clue* of the *Sacred History*, seek for the *Original of Government* among *Heathen Authors*, who knew not how the
World

World or Mankind Began; How then should they know the Original of Government?

But even there, they are at a Loss. For as far up as *Prophane History* reaches, it still finds *Governments Settled and Establish'd among Mankind*. As *Justin* begins his *History*, *Principia rerum Nationumque, Imperium penes Reges erat*; that is, *In the Beginning of Things and Nations, the Government was in the Hand of Kings*.

So that finding no *Foundation* for their *Original Independance* of *Mankind*, in any sort of *History* whatsoever, they then run to *Imaginary Supposes*, as of a *Ship Landing in a Desert Island*; and setting up *Government* among themselves, &c.

But the *Planting* of all *Colonies* was in another *Form*, under *Leaders* and *Government*.

They may as well suppose a *Shower of Men*, dropping down *Independently* from the *Clouds*!

It wou'd be an *Affront* to *Human Understanding* to Chase such wild *Supposes*, or *Argue* from them.

And they have no other *Foundation* for such a *State* of *Mankind*, as is *Necessary* for placing the *Original of Government* in the *People*. So much for the *Original of Government* in the *World*. To which all *Factions* have *Recourse*, when they are about to *Unhinge* and *Over-Turn* settl'd *Constitutions*.

Now as to the *Deduction* of *Government* from the *Division* of the *World* in the *Days of Noah*, to our times; it having pleas'd *God* (for the *Sins of Men* to Permit *Conquests* and *Usurpations* through all *Nations*, so that there is no *King* now upon *Earth*, who can Derive himself in a *Lineal, Un-interrupted Hereditary Succession*, from any of those 70 *Kings* of the *Sons of Noah*, The *Usurper* or *Usurpers* (tho' the *Act of Usurpation* always remains a *Wicked Act*) take up the *Government* out of the *Hands* of the *Right Owners*, and succeed *Immediately*, without letting it *Fall* to the *Free Election* of the *People*; like a *Ball* perpetually *Toss'd* betwixt *Rackets*; This *Ball of Government* was never yet let *Fall* to the *Ground*.

And there being a *Necessity* for *Government* always *Continuing*, else the *World* would *Fall into* the *Chaos* of that *Universal Liberty* these *Common-Wealth Men* Contend for: Consequently, the *Possessor* has the *Right* of the *Government*, where there are none who *Claim* a *Better Right*. This was the *Case* of the *Roman Emperors* from *Julius Caesar* downwards, when they were *Elective*.

Where there are *Competitors* for the *Crown*, it is a *Grievous Judgment* upon that *People*; and cannot End without the *Destruction* or *Restoration* of those who are *Nearest* in the *Line of Succession*. As the *Case* of *Tork* and *Lancaster*, and the *Histories* of all *Ages* do make good. And

And in *Elective Monarchies*, every new *King* (almost) is a new *Revolution*; as we see at Present in *Poland*, and formerly at *Rome*, while their *Emperors* were *Elective*, when they had *Two, three, four, or more Emperors* some times set up together, *One by one Army*, and one by *Another*; And once they had no less than *thirty Tyrants*, at one Time, all *Contending* and *Fighting* with each other, to the *Infinite Destruction* of the *People*.

Indeed the *Liberty* Contended for by these *Unthinking People*, is a *Liberty* to the *Sword*, to *Ruine* and *Destroy* one *Another*. And the *Salus Populi*, with which they make so much *Noise*, is more *Hurt* by them, than by all the *Tyrants* in the *World*. So much *Safer* are we in the *Hands* of *God*, than of *Men*. In that *Government* which he has *Establish'd*, for the *Good* of the *People*, than in all their own *Contrivances* of *Electing* and *Deposing* their own *Kings*, and *Framing* new *Schemes* of *Government* to themselves. *God* tells us (for our *Security*, if he wou'd *Trust Him!*) That the *Hearts* of *Kings* are in his *Hands*, and that he turneth Them, like the *Rivers* of *Waters*; That He will send *Good Kings*, as a *Blessing* upon a *Good* and *Obedient People*: And tho' sometimes He suffers us (for our *Sins*) to be *Evil-entreated* through *Tyrants*; yet He has not *Permitted* all the *Tyrants* in the *World*, from the first *Beginning* thereof, to make such *Devastation* of the *People*, such *Havock* of their *Lives*, *Liberty*, and *Property*, as is brought upon them by one *Popular Revolution*. So much do's this *Remedy* Men have *Provided* for themselves (against the *Ordinance* and *Institution* of *God*) prove *Worse* than the *Disease* of that *Government* He has *Appointed!* And so much is the *Folly* of *GOD* *Wiser* than *Men*, and more for their *Advantage*, if these *Sons* of *Belial*, that is, of *Liberty*, would let them see it!

Can they not see, That when they are taken off from this *Original* and *Foundation* of *Government* in *Divine Right*, they have none at all left to them, That *None* can be built upon the *Foundation* of the *People*?

Is it not *Apparent* to them, Does not all the *World* *Confess* it, That the *Collective Body* of the *People* cannot *Govern* it self, more than every *Man* in the *Nation* can be a *King*? Well then, Will they let the *Body Represented* (according to their own *Scheme*) be the *Dernier Resort*? And must we take their *Voice*, as the *Voice* of *God*?

* A Discourse of the Contests and Dissensions between the Nobles and Commons in Athens and Rome, &c. p. 44, 45.

No. That will not be *Allow'd* to us neither. And yet they cannot shew to us any other *Way*!

* The Great *Patron* of *Liberty* beforemention'd, says, That the *Saying*, *VOX POPULI, VOX DEI*, ought to be understood of the *Universal Bent* and *Current* of a *People*; Not of the bare *Majority* of a few *REPRESENTATIVES*; which is often procur'd by little *Arts*, and great *Industry* and *Application*; wherein those who *Engage* in the pursuits of *Malice* and *Revenge*, are much more *Sedulous* than such as would prevent them.

But

But now, How shall this *Universal Bent* and *Current* of the *People* be known, since it must not be taken from their *Representatives*?

Why, from a *Mobb* or *Legion*, set up by any *Party*, to *Whoop* and *Hallow*! And this is *Vox Populi*, and so *Vox Dei*? Let them shew any other way. Wou'd they send Men about to *Poll* the whole *Nation*?

The *Senslesness* of such *Schemes* is *Nauseous*. But if it were not *Destru- tive* too, we cou'd Bear it the Better.

In the very same Breath, with that before-quoted, he sets it down as a Rule, *Never to give way to Popular Clamours*. Where are we now? Where now is the *Vox Populi*? These Men cannot speak *Consistently* three P. 45, 46. *Lines* together! Their *Brains* are turn'd. They know not what themselves wou'd be at.

He is very Angry at the *Power* of the *Commons*; and Advises, That P. 52. *the most August Assembly of the Commons* wou'd please to form a *PANDECT* of their own *Power* and *Privileges*. Which yet he tells us is *Impossible*. When (says he) a *Child* grows *Easie* and *Content* by being *Hamour'd*; And P. 45. when a *Lover* becomes *Satisfy'd* by small *Compliances*, without further *Pur- suits*. [That's my Man! This was like thy Self!] Then expect to find *Popular Assemblies* *Content* with small *Concessions*. If there cou'd one single *Example* be brought from the whole *Compass* of *History*, of any one *Popular Assembly*, who after beginning to *Contend* for *Power*, ever sat down *Quietly* with a certain *Share*. Or, if one *Instance* cou'd be *Produc'd* of a *Popular Assembly*, that ever *Knew*, or *Propos'd*, or *Declar'd* what *Share* of *Power* was their *Due*, then might there be some *Hopes*, that it were a *Matter* to be *Ad- justed*, &c.

But if there be no *Hopes* of it. If it be a *Matter* which they them- selves do not *Know* (as he says) and so cannot *Declare* it; why wou'd this *Gentleman* *Propose* it? It must be only a *Sarcasm* upon *That most August Assembly of the Commons*, as he *Ironically* calls them. Upon which I leave them to *Animadvert*.

I have now only to do with his *Schemes* and *Ballancings*. What Re- medy do's he *Propose* for this? Why thus; That they to whom the rest of the *Ballance* is *Entrusted*, shou'd never give way so far to *Popular Clamours*, as P. 46. to make the least *Breach* in the *Constitution*, through which a *Million* of *Abuses* and *Encroachments* will certainly, in time, force their way.

Ah! *Doctor, Doctor*, Was this *Always* your *Doctrine*? Are you come to see it at last? And yet never *Mend*!

But who are they that hold the rest of the *Ballance*? This must be either the *Crown*, or the *Lords*, or *Both*. And they must *Never* give way to the *Popular Clamours* of the *Commons*. And this will hold the *Ballance* even!

But you say, That the *Commons* are never *Satisfy'd*. That they will not be *Content* with a *Share* in the *Ballance*. Nay, That they do not *Know* what their own *Share* is. How then shall they *Ballance* it? Is it not *Possible*, in so *Nice* a *Case* as this, That the several *Parties* who held this *Ballance*, may *Differ* in *Opinion* (even tho' *Wise* and *Good Men*) as to one *Another's Share*? And is there no *Umpire*? None who has *Authority* to *Compose* and *Settle* this *Matter*? Then there is no *Remedy*, but that they go to *Cuffs* about it, and *Engage* the *Nation* in a *Civil War*.

But all *Power* is *One*, and *Indivisible*, whether in the *Hands* of *One* or *Many*. And *Several Independent Powers*, in the same *Government*, is *Anarchy* and *Confusion*. And is set up by *None* but who are *Laying Seed-Plots* for *Rebellion*, or who are *Besotted* in their *Understandings*.

Let me Imitate a little of this *Author's Rhetorick* and *Fancy*. When *CHILDREN Agree in SCRAMBLING for APPLES*; And *Jealous LOVERS about their MISTRESS*; then expect to find *RIVALS for POWER*, *Agree in each other's SHARE of the BALLANCE*!

P. 51. But he tells us of one *Sort* of these *Rivals*, who are the *Fiercest* of any in their *Pursuits* (tho' of late he has found *Reason* to have a *Better Opinion* of them) who, *About the Middle of Queen Elizabeth's Reign*, or soon after, *Arose in England*, under the *Name* of *PURITAN*, and began to grow *Popular*, by *Molding up their new Schemes of Religion with Republican Principles in Government*; And *gaining upon the Prerogative as well as the NOBLES*, under several *Denominations*, for the *space* of about *Sixty Years*, did at last *Overthrow the Constitution*; And according to the *Usual Course* of such *Revolutions*, did *Introduce a Tyranny*, first of the *People*, and then of a *single Person*.

This is a very *Instructive Passage*. And wou'd give one *Cause* to *Enquire*, what *Reason* the *Author* has since found out (except his being ever *In-consistent* with *Himself*) to *Struggle* so hard for letting the same *Faction* still have a *Share* in the *Ballance of Power*!

Has he not seen in his own time (and *Himself* a great *Manager* in it) the very same *Thing* done, by the very same *Faction*, in all the *Particulars* he has before *Describ'd*?

But he shou'd *Explain* to *Us*, How there can be a *Tyranny* (as he says) of the *People*, as well as of a *Single Person*? What is now become of our *Schemes*? Can the *People* be *Tyrants* over *Themselves*? Then it is time to look to it. For that must be a *Terrible Tyranny*! As much more than that of a *Single Person*, as they are more in *Number* than *He*. Or a *Legion of Devils* worse than *One*. Who shall hold the *Ballance of Power* betwixt the *People* and the *People*? Or come in with them for a *Share*?

This

[51]

This was so Obvious to him, That he wou'd Exclude the People from the Choice of their Representatives in Parliament. How then shou'd it be done? Why let the Faction (who are *Wiser Men*) even Bribe Downright, and Buy Votes where they can. This he Expressly Justifies, and Argues for it. He says, That according to the present Turn and Disposition of Men in our Nation, it were a less Abuse to Bribe Elections, than leave them to the Discretion of the Chusers. That the Talents which Qualify a Man for the Service of his Country in Parliament, are very different from those which give him a Dexterity at making his Court to the People; and do not often meet in the same Subject. Then for the Moral Part, the Difference is Inconsiderable; And whoever Practices upon the Weakness and Vanity of the People, is Guilty of an Immoral Action, as much as if he did it upon their Avarice. Besides, the Two Trees may be Judg'd by their Fruits, The former produces a Sett of Popular Men, fond of their own Merits and Abilities, their Opinions, and their Eloquence; Whereas the Bribing of Elections seems to be at Worst, but an ill means of keeping things upon the old foot [that is, in the hands of the Faction] by leaving the Defence of our Properties, Chiefly in the hands of those who will be the greatest Sufferers, whenever they are endanger'd [that is, who had Enrich'd themselves by Cheating the Publick, and wou'd be the greatest Sufferers, if brought to Account.] It is easie to observe in the Late and Present Parliament, that several Boroughs, and some Counties have been Represented by Persons, who little thought to have had such Hopes before [These were Persons he suppos'd not so well Affected to the Late Government.] And how far this may proceed, when such a way [that is the Freedom of Elections] is laid open for the Exercise and Encouragement of Popular Arts, one may best Judge from the Consequences that the same Causes produc'd both in Athens and Rome. For let Speculative Men Reason, or rather Refine as they please; it will ever be true among us, that as long as Men Engage in the Publick Service, upon Private ends, and whilst all Pretences to a Sincere Roman Love of our Country, are look'd upon as an Affectation, a Foppery, or a Disguise, (which has been a good while our Case, and is likely to continue so;) it will be safer to Trust our Property and Constitution in the hands of such who have Pay'd for their Elections, than of those who have obtain'd them by Servile Flatteries of the People. Thus that Worthy Author.

And he tells (*ib.*) That he foresaw the Danger to their Constitution, When the Act pass'd some Years ago, against Bribing of Elections. For which Reason he was against it, as since for Occasional Conformity.

But, as this is the Bitterest thing cou'd be said against the Revolution, as if it did not Proceed upon the General Bent and Inclination of the People; but only Voted by a Company of Brib'd Men; And cou'd stand

no longer than the *People* were still *Debarr'd* from the *Freedom* of their *Elections*:

So, on the other hand, it is a *Total Overtbrow* of all the *Scheme* of *Founding Government* upon the *Election* of the *People*. Whose *Weakness* and *Vanity* is such (as this *Author* says) as only fit to be *Practis'd* upon by *Cunning Men*; so that it were *Better* (and he thinks it as *Moral* too) to *Trust* to whom any *Faction* shall *Bribe*, than to leave it to the *Choice* of the *People*!

And yet He, and every one of the *Faction*, pretend to know the *Minds* of the *People* as *Bravely* as if they had *Consulted* every *Man* in the *Nation*; and, upon every *Turn*, they *Appeal* to that, and *Frighten* us with it. This *Author*, speaking of the *House of Commons*, says, p. 58. *That they have been Authors of a New and Wonderful Thing in England, which is, for a House of Commons to lose the Universal Favour of the Numbers they Represent.* Which is as *Bold* and *Malicious*, as it is *False*; most of the same *Members* being again *Chosen*. But it was by their *Arts* of *Imposing* upon the *Weakness* and *Vanity* of the *People*! And their not taking the more *Laudable* way of *Bribing*!

And this is one way of the *Faction* their *Practising* upon the *Weakness* and *Vanity* of the *People*, to give out *Lewd Lyes*, that they may be *Believ'd* by some. Which is but a sort of an *Occasional Conformity*!

And it is not to be thought strange, That these Men shou'd be for *Occasional Conformity*, who have none but *Occasional Thoughts*, and *Occasional Principles*, to *Comply* with every *Turn* of *Faction* or *Interest* for their own *Ends*. Like the *Vicar of Brey*, who kept his *Living* in all the *Turns* of the *Reigns* of *Edw. vi. Q. Mary*, and *Q. Eliz.* without *Changing* of his *Principle*; for his *Principle* was, as he said, to be *Vicar of Brey*, till he cou'd get a *Better Preferment*! What! wou'd he suffer himself to be *Ruin'd*, for the *Iniquities* of other Men! Therefore he never stood out for a *Re-Cantation Sermon* (which was the *Custom* then, and may be again) but when *Q. Mary* came in, he took for his *Text*, *State super vias Antiquas*; And bade Men be of the *Religion* of their *Fathers*. But when *Q. Eliz.* *Ascended the Throne*, then his *Text* was, *Cantate Domino Canticum Novum*. Now, *Sing a New Song*.

How many of these *New Songs* have we heard from these Men, from this same *Renowned Author*, the *Cock* of the *Party*; And that within the *Compass* of a very few *Years*? For the *King*, and *Against* him! For *Passive Obedience*, and *Against* it! *Against* the *Deposing-Doctrine*, and *For* it! For the *Power* of the *People*, and *Against* it! For the *House of Commons*, and as *Violently* *Against* it! *Against* the *Lords*, and *Now* as much *For* them! &c.

Here

Here is *Occasional Conformity* in Abundance! These Men leave no *Principle*, no *Constitution*, no *Thing* in the World *Certain*, but *Un-Certainty*! They are the *Antipodes* to all *Government*, *Method* or *Settlement*! They are *Harington's Rota*, perfect *Babel* and *Confusion*! Fitted to *Pull down* every *Thing*; but to *Build up* Nothing! There can be no *Peace* or *Quietness* where they Live, and have any *Power*! When they had the *Whole* in their own hands, they cou'd not *Agree* among *Themselves* (nor ever *Will*, they *Cannot*, having no *Foundation*) but *Divided*, and *Sub-divided* into *New Schemes*, *New Governments*, *New Constitutions*, every *Day*! And now they wou'd feign *Try* it *once* more! But these are *Costly Experiments*, and may *Draw out* the *Hearts-Blood* of the *Nation*; which cannot long *Subsist*, under many such *Paroxysms*.

But, to come to an *End*, I am to tell the *Reader*, That the *Magistrates* of *Glasgow* (as I am *Inform'd*) have return'd this *Answer* to the *Privy-Council* in *Scotland*, who order'd them to *Protect* such of the *Episcopal Clergy* as had *Meeting-Houses* there, pursuant to her *Majesty's* *Letter* to them, (and after the *Uproar* of the *Mobb* there, which is told before;) That they cou'd not *Undertake* to *Protect* any *Episcopal Clergy-Man* there, let him be never so much *Qualify'd* as to the *Government*.

This is *Plain-Dealing*! And lets the *Queen* see, what use is made of her *Favours* to these *People*.

Let me give another *Instance*, which I have from sure hands; There is an *Episcopal Clergy-Man*, *Mr. Robert Calder*, who has liv'd these *Two Years* past at the *Old-Town* of *Aberdene*, who read the *English Liturgy*, first in his own *House*, and then, the *Burghers* and others being much *Affected* with it, and having a great *Esteem* of it (as all have who are not kept *Ignorant* of it) in a *Meeting-House* which they had *Provided* for that *Purpose*: The *Presbyterians* there were so *Offended* at this, That they *Procur'd* an *Order* for *Shutting-up* of his *Meeting-House*, and the *Banishing* him from the *City*, and not to come within *Twelve Miles* of it; They *Accus'd* him for having given the *Communion* at *Easter* to several *Burghers* and others, according to the *English Common-Prayer-Book* (for they have had none there *Establish'd* by *Law*, since the *Restoration* 1660.) Which *Charge* he did *Confess*. And, for this was *Serv'd*, as you are told. Tho' (as my *Letter* thence says) the *Presbyterians* have not given the *Sacrament* either, in the *City* or *Old-Town* of *Aberdene*, since ever *Presbytery* was set up in that *Place*. As they did not in *Oxford* from the time they were set up there (as in many other *Places*) till the *Restoration*, 1660. So that they *Resented* this *Reproach* to them, offer'd by *Mr. Calder*.

III.

Somemo
of the Pr
ceedings
Scotland.

But

But why at this time, when they gave him no Disturbance these *Two Tears* past? O, now they are Afraid of *Prelacy's* coming in again (tho' no manner of Occasion has been given for it, but *Marvellously* the Contrary!) Against which they knew themselves Secure in the *Affections* of the last *Reign*. But now tell us, from the Mouth of their *Moderator*, That it shall not come in, but by *Blood*! And if that *Threat* will do, it need Cost them no *Blood*; but will cost others a great deal; unless this *Faction* have *All*, and full Freedom to Root *Prelacy* and *Monarchy* too out of *England*; and, after that, a Great deal more, in *Cool Blood*—as Before! And, on my Conscience then, we shall *Deserve* it! And I know None will Pity us, who will take no *Warning* by many *Experiences*, and fresh Repeated *Provocations*! Building upon our *Simplicity* and want of *Sense*! All we shall be good for, is, to stand, like *Lot's Wife*, a *Memorandum* for after Ages, that may not be *Doom'd* to our *Stupidity*! But

Quos perdere vult Jupiter, Dementat.

IV. We are Afraid to take the Name of *Toleration* into our Mouths, with-
Of the out Profound *Respect*, and taking off our *Hats*! Whoever *Durst* speak a
Toleration. Word against it, wou'd be call'd a Bloody *Persecutor*, hardly allow'd to be a *Christian*, or, for ought I know, a Good *Subject*, as Designing to raise *Disturbance*, and Alienate the Minds of the Godly from the *Govern-ment*! And yet, at the same time, at this very Day, in that Part of our *Island* where the *Faction* have *Power*, they *Declare* openly against it, think it *Anti-Christian*; and will neither allow *Toleration* nor *Protection* to the *Episcopal Clergy*, tho' the *Queen* Desires it. And for that very Reason! As one of *Them* here in *London*, an *English Dissenter*, said last *Good-Friday* to the *Lord Mayor's Officers*, who wou'd have had him shut up his *Shop*, pursuant to the *Queen's Pleasure*, signify'd to his *Lordship*; That he was not *Oblig'd* to do it, because the *Queen* did only *Desire* it. And he wou'd not do it, nor did do it, as others of them did not, in open *Contempt* to Her *Majesty*, as well as the Orders of the *Church*.

And yet their whole *Plea* to make the *Ceremonies* and other things that are *Indifferent* in their own Nature, become *Unlawful*, is their being *En-joyn'd*, and so an *Infraction* upon their *Christian Liberty*!

Whereas, if you leave them at *Liberty*, and only *Desire* this as a *Fa-vour* from them, and for *Uniformity* sake; Then,

*You do but Beg, and we may Choose,
Either to grant it, or Refuse.*

Are

Are not these *Good-Natur'd Men*, and, *Easy* to be pleas'd? Fit to be *Indulg'd* and *Cares'd*, by all means!

If you ask them, Whether it be not fully as Reasonable that the *Episcopal Church* in *Scotland* should have the same *Toleration* that is Granted to the *Dissenters* here?

They will tell you (as oft as it is in their Power to speak *Truth*!) No indeed, we mean no such thing. It is our *Design*, and has all along been our *Constant Endeavours*, to pull down your *Hierarchy*. And if you cannot see your own *Advantages*, it is no Reason we should Lose ours. We have Settld a Good *Correspondence* with our *Brethren* in *Scotland*, and Give them the *Word* from Hence. And will *Stand* by them (as Before) when it comes to the *Push*.

We are of the same *Principles* with Them; and as much against *Toleration* as They can be. Tho' at Present, we *Gull* you and *Paume* upon you, while we are in your Power. When did *We* ever Grant *Toleration* to You, or any Other, when *We* had the Power? No. *We* are for a Greater Purity of the *Gospel*, than to suffer *Jezabel*, who calleth her self a *Prophets*, to *Teach* and to *Seduce* the *Servants* of the *Lord*; or to *Endure* them amongst Us, much less to give them *Toleration*, Who hold the *Doctrin* of *Balaam*, or of the *Nicholaitans*, to cast a *Stumbling-Block* before the People. As Mr. *Casé* said, in his *Farewel Sermon*, upon this same *Chap. 2. of the Revelations*.

Time was, when the Name of a *Toleration* wou'd have made *Christians* to have *Trembled*.

Then they were *Good Christians*! I Refer the Reader, for farther Satisfaction in this Point, to the *Non-Conformists Plea for Uniformity*, &c. Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the Gun in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*, 1674. Where you will see the same *Judgment* pass'd by the *Whole Provincial Assembly* of *Ministers* and *Elders*, in and about *London*. Of *Fourscore and Four Ministers* of the *County Palatine* of *Lancaster*, and of several other of their *Eminent Preachers*, *English*, *Scotish*, and *New English*, All *Bellowing* with *Open Mouth* against *Toleration*, as the most *Wicked* and *Un-Reasonable* thing that was possible in any *Christian Country*. And wherein all their *Modern Pleas* for *Toleration* are fully *Answer'd* and *Confuted*, and *Render'd* most *Detestable*.

I think none have a *Right* to Plead for *Toleration*, but they whose *Principle* it is to *Allow* it to Others.

But their *Principle* is, *To do no Right*, and take no *Wrong*. They will *Allow* of no *Toleration* in *Scotland*; Yet *Claim* it as their *Due* in *England*!

I meddle not, nor have meddl'd at all, with their *Toleration*. But to shew them, That they do not *Deserve* it. And therefore ought to be *Thankful*, instead of being the more *Clamorous* and *Un-easy*, and Ready to fly

fly in the *Face* of the *Government*, the more *Favour* that is shew'd to them. And make use of it all, to *Screw* themselves into more *Power*, till they shall gain *Sufficient* to *Over-turn* it. Which has been their constant *Practice*, from their first Rise in *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, to this Day, as before has been shew'd. That if that *Wise Queen* did *Watch* over them, and kept all *Power* out of their Hands, Including *Them* equally with the *Papists*, under the same *Name* and *Penalty* of *Recusants*, by which She had *Peace* in Her Days; (for it is all one, if a *Government* be *Over-turn'd*, by *whom* it is done.) Then sure there is more Reason for looking after them now, when they are much more *Formidable* and *Bold*, and have *Declar'd* their *Intentions*, by more than *Broad Signs*.

I have before *Quoted* from a worthy *Author*, how they first grew *Popular* in their *Infancy*, about the middle of *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, By *Molding up* their *New Schemes of Religion*, with *Republican Principles* in *Government*. And as they have encreas'd in their *Religions* since, to the Tune of 50 or 60 several *Monstrous SECTS* at one Time in *England*, upon the overflowing of their *Nilus*, a few Years after 1641; Of which we have the *Names* in *Heresiography* and *Gangrena*: So have they likewise improv'd in their *Republican Principles*, and are now *Settl'd* upon their *Lees*, in *Opposition* to a^l *Monarchy*, to all *Kings* and *Queens*, or whatever bears the *Name* of *Royalty*.

V.
Of the
Centre of
Govern-
ment.

But in the Heat of their *Pursuit a King-Hunting*, they have Run themselves off their *Legs*, and lost the *Foundation* of all *Government*, of which now they can find no *Centre*. They have endeavour'd to *Fix* it in the *Sea*, that is, in the *People*. But there it will not *Rest*. Nor will themselves let it stay there. They *Exalt* the *People* sometimes to the *Stile* which *God* gave to *Kings*, saying *Ye are GODS*; and make their *Original Power* of *Divine Right*, and their *Voice* to be the *Voice* of *God*.

But at another *Turn*, they *Down* with them again as *Low*, and make them the *Beasts* of the *People*, such *weak* and *vain* Animals, as not fit to *Choose* for themselves, insomuch that even *Bribing* of *Votes* is *Better* than to leave it to *Their Choice*! So that here is no *Centre* of *Government* at all. But eternal *Rotation*, from *Faction* to *Faction*; yet they wou'd take it very ill, if an *Opposite Faction* should *Bribe* off any of their *Leading-Men*, and give such a *Practice* very *Hard Names*. Why did they keep such a violent *Stir* in *K. Char. 2d's* Time, for his *Bribing* (as they said) of *Parliament Men*? Why should not *He* do it, as well as *They*? But in their own *Reign*, they *Justifie* it, and *Confess* that they could not do without it.

All Piety Consists therein

In Them, in other Men all Sin.

But to make Amends for taking away the Centre of Government, they would give Us two or three Centres; and set-up several Co-ordinate and Independent Powers, in the same Government. And then fall a Ballancing these Centres with one another.

What a World should we have, if the Earth had two or three Centres? It would break to Pieces as much as if it had None. With None, it would be No Earth. And with Many, it would be Many Earths. So without a Centre there is no Government; and several Centres make several Governments. And can no more make One, than Two and Three make One. But these Men can divide One, as they do Monarchy, and Ballance it with it self!

How then can any Monarchy be safe with such Principles, and such Practices as this Faction have along shew'd? They have Attack'd all the Princes under whom they liv'd. First Q. Eliz. But she took the right Course with them. Then K. Jam. 1. whom they first Imprison'd, and then Attempted to Assassinate in Gowry's Conspiracy. I need not name K. Char. 1. But they Endeavour'd to have Murther'd K. Char. 2. more than once, that is known. The Rye-House I have nam'd already. I will now mention Another, which may be Forgot, tho' it be Printed in the London Gazette; and the Conspirators Try'd at the Old-Baily, and Executed for it. For there are some Men who Believe every thing they Hear, but nothing that they See. If a Whisper goes about, in Prejudice to the Court, that Some-body told Some-body, it is Echo'd Round among the Party, and Believ'd like Gospel. But a Gaffney in the Printed Votes, or a Glen-Goe in all the London-Gazettes for a whole Summer, while that Affair was Examin'd in the Scots-Parliament, are not sufficient to Inform any one that ever such things were done. If there be such a thing as Casting of Mists before Peoples Eyes, this Witch-Craft of Rebellion has got the Art. They can not only make the most Senseless of their own Lyes and Forgeries pass among the Herd; But they can make even Wise Men Forget what their own Eyes have Seen!

The continu'd Practices of the Faction.

If this be not True, then it will be no News, to Transcribe what follows out of the London-Gazette, Num. 48. From Thursday April 26, to Monday April 30. 1666. in these Words.

Of the Burning of London.

At

“ At the Sessions in the Old-Baily, *John Rathbone*, an old Arury Coll.
 “ *William Saunders*, *Henry Tucker*, *Thomas Flint*, *Thomas Evans*, *John Myles*,
 “ *William Wescot*, and *John Cole*, formerly Officers or Soldiers in the
 “ late *Rebellion*, were Indicted for Conspiring the Death of his Majesty,
 “ and the Overthrow of the Government, having laid their Plot and
 “ Contrivance, for the Surprizal of the *Tower*, the Killing of his Grace
 “ the *Lord General*, *Sir John Robinson*, Lieutenant of his Majesty's *Tow-*
 “ *er of London*, and *Sir Richard Brown*; And then to have Declar'd for
 “ an Equal Division of Lands, &c. The better to Effect this Hellish
 “ Design, the *City* was to have been *Fir'd*, and the *Portcullis* to have
 “ been let down, to keep out all Assistance; the *Horse Guards* to have
 “ been Surpriz'd in the *Inns* where they were Quarter'd; Several Host-
 “ lers having been Gain'd for that Purpose: The *Tower* was according-
 “ ly viewed, and its Surprize order'd by *Boats* over the *Moat*, and from
 “ thence to Scale the Wall. One *Alexander*, who is not yet taken, had
 “ likewise Distributed Sums of Money to these Conspirators: And for
 “ the Carrying on of the Design more Effectually, they were told of
 “ a *Council of Great Ones*, that Sat frequently in *London*, from whom
 “ Issued all Orders; which *Council* Receiv'd their Directions from ano-
 “ ther in *Holland*, who Sat with the *States*: And that the *Third* of *Se-*
 “ *ptember* was Pitched on for the Attempt, as being found by *Lilly's*
 “ *Almanack*, and a *Scheme* Erected for that Purpose, to be a Lucky Day,
 “ a *Planet* then Ruling which Prognosticated the Downfal of *Monar-*
 “ *chy*. The Evidence against these Persons was very Full and Clear;
 “ and they accordingly found guilty of High Treason.

These are the Words of that *Gazette*, from whence I wou'd Observe,
 1. That this was a *Conspiracy* of the *Faction*, the same *Faction* we
 have been speaking of; the Principal *Actors* being those Engag'd in the
 former *Rebellion*, whom the *King's Mercy* let live; Nay, and Rewarded
 most of them, not as they Deserv'd, but Prefer'd and Trusted them in His
Privy-Council, and the Greatest *Employments*; to the Neglect and Discou-
 ragement of his own *Friends*, who had stuck to him, and Own'd him in the
 Day of his *Distress*. Which was the Greatest *Blot* of his *Reign*. And
 of *Mischief* to his *Successors*.

And this was so far from *Charming* of that *Deaf Adder*, whom he
 had Warm'd in his *Bosom*; That she thence gather'd New Life, to Sting
 him. The *Faction* never after left *Plotting* against him; were in two
 open *Rebellions*, at *Pentland-Hills*, and *Bothwel-Bridge* in *Scotland*; And in
England Attempted to *Assassinate* him at the *Rye-House*, and to Seize him
 by Main Force at *Oxford*:

The *Faction* have ever gone Hand in Hand, in both *Kingdoms*, from
Forty One downwards, in *Monmouth's Rebellion*, and at this Day.

2. I Observe, How these *Holy Men* can go to the Devil for God's Sake; Have Recourse to casting of *Schemes*, and *Fortune-Tellers*, to carry on the *Good Old Cause*. These are the Men who Preach'd against *Superstition* and *Idolatry*! Cou'd find all that in the *Common-Prayer*, yet make *Lilly's Almanack* their *Text*!

3. The *Lucky Day* here Pitch'd upon, the *Third of September*, was the Day which Oliver Observ'd as his *Lucky-day*. On that Day he Fought the *Battles of Dunbar in Scotland*, and of *Worcester in England*, which put an End to the *Royal Cause* in both *Kingdoms*. We know *Another* too that Observ'd his *Days*. And yet their Great Objection against the *Church*, is, Her Observing of *Days*, in Memory of *Christ* and His *Apostles*. But they go to the Devil for *Days*, upon their own Account! Who always Cheats them in the End. For, on Oliver's own *Lucky-day*, even the 3d of *September*, he Dy'd, in a *Whirl-Wind*. It is a *Lucky-day* for the *Nations*, whatever it Prov'd to him.

4. We find that these *Enemies of Superstition* lay Great *Stress* upon their *Days*, and will not be put off. For notwithstanding of this *Discovery*, they went on still with their *Plot*, and the City was Fir'd the same Day which they had Determin'd, viz. The 3d of *September* following, or the 2d. (the Day now kept in Memory of it) about 12 a Clock at Night. They would have it *Early* on the 3d.

5. Here is no Pretence to call this a *Court* or *Sham-Plot* (as they call all their own *Plots* that do not take) Unless we suppose the *Government* to have been *Prophets*, and Fore-told this *Five Months* before it came to pass. Or, wou'd, in so *Publick* a Manner, have Discover'd their own *Plot*. And that in the same City too, which they intended to Destroy on the same Day, and just in that *Method* of which they had given them Warning! Besides, the *King* was then in *War* with the *Dutch*, who might have then found their Account in *Weakning* him so *Exceedingly*: But what cou'd he have got by it, in giving so *Terrible a Blow* in his own *Government*?

Again, it is now well known, that it was an *English-man*, and one of these old *Oliverian Rebels*, who after this, the next Year, 1667, *Pi- And our Ships at Chatham.* loted the *Dutch Fleet* into *Chatham*; and others of them were on Board the *Dutch Fleet*, when they *Burnt* our *Ships* there; That the *Plot* was laid by the *Faction* here, from whom the *Dutch* had their *Intelligence* and *Directions*.

Besides those *Conspirators* before Nam'd, who were *Executed*, others Fled into *Holland*. And the 21st. of *April*, 1666. a *Proclamation* was Issu'd to Recal them, on Pain of *Treason*, by the 22th of *July* following, these Particularly by Name, *John Desborough*, *Thomas Kelsey*, *John White*, *John Grove*, *William Burton*, *William Scot*, *Sir Robert Honeywood*, Ju-

nior, *Thomas Cole* of *Southampton*, ——— *Spurway*, *Edward Raddon*, *Dr. Edward Richardson*, *John Philips*, and *John Nichols* of *Merionethshire*. As may be seen in the *London Gazette*, N. 47. of *April 26. 1666*. But these Chose rather to Incur the Guilt of *Treason*, by not Obeying the *Proclamation*, than to Come Home, and *Vindicate* themselves. And that they might be sure to *Deserve* it, they Return'd the Year following with the *Dutch Fleet*, to *Pilot* them, and Assist to *Burn* our *Ships* at *Chatham*.

6. Now consider the *Mercy* that is in these Men, and that *Love* of their *Country*, of which they *Boast*; that when the *Nation*, especially the *City of London*, had been almost empty'd by a *Dreadful Plague* the Year before, 1665; And, at the same time, an *Heavy War* lay upon them; shou'd take Part with their *Enemies*, and help them not only to lay in *Ashes* the already *Depopulated City* and *Metropolis* of the *Kingdom*! But as if all that had not been *Mischief* enough, to *Burn* our *Fleet*, in our own *Harbours*! And all this out of an *Inveterate Malice* they had to *Monarchy*. That they had rather the *Nation* shou'd *Perish*, than that a *King* shou'd *Reign* over them!

But why shou'd it be thought *Strange*, That they should Joyn with the *Dutch* against Us; who before had *Invited* over the *French King* to Expel their own *King*? As has been told.

And it is not only in the last *Reign*, That the *Dutch* have had *Influence* over our *Councils*, and took upon them to *Interpose*, and with *Money* too (But where is the *Fault of Bribing*! Some may have learn'd it there) in the *Calling* and *Dissolution* of our *Parliaments*, &c. They have always kept a close *Correspondence* with the *Faction* here, have *Manag'd* them, and been *Manag'd* by them. And are their *Constant Asylum*.

The *Dutch* may *Justifie* themselves by the too *Faulty Policy* of most *Nations*, to intermeddle with the *Government* of their *Neighbours*, to stir up the *Ill Blood*, and *Foment* the *Factions* that are among them. When they *Burn'd* our *City* and our *Ships*, they were at *open War* with us. And if we could have found such *Spies*, and *Traitors* among them, perhaps we might have serv'd them in the like kind. Or, should not now scruple to support the *Rebellion* of the *Sevensese*, or to *Blow up Paris*, if we could *Effect* it.

Applicati-
on of the
Whole:

I meddle not with that Point, How far the *Methods of War* may be *Extended*. But that any *Nation* shou'd *Cherish* a *Faction* within their own *Bowels*, that are ready to join with every *Enemy*, of whatever sort; that have done it, not only with the *Dutch*, but with the *French*, against their

their own Native Country. — Who hate nothing in the World so Mortally, as the Government of their own Country, both in Church and State; who wou'd go, who have gone, to the Gates of Hell, to Pull down Episcopacy and Monarchy! That these shou'd have the Unparallel'd Impudence, to desire to be Entrusted with the Government, to Plead it as their Right, and call it Persecution to be deny'd it! That Bishops or Kings, or any who love either, should take their Part in this, who have more than once, as oft as ever in their Power, Murther'd, and Detron'd both Kings and Bishops; and still do Maintain, and even openly Declare, and in Print do Justifie the same Principles! And where they have Power, as in Scotland, are actually Arming, Associating, and Sounding the Alarm of BLOOD, in open Defiance to the Government! That these shou'd still be Courted and Cares'd, and more and more Power put into their Hands, and of their Friends in England, that they may be less Dangerous! That Church-men shou'd Advise this, and to let them come in amongst us, in disguise and undistinguish'd, by Occasional Conformity; and thereby to have Access to all Places of Power and Profit, even to the Privy Council, and to the Parliament! — This looks like a Spell upon us, and the Case of that poor Devil who was possess'd with a Catch-pole! For one Devil may Possess another. And the Spirit of this Faction is a Legion has bewitch'd these Nations, of a long time. I pray God to Dissolve the Charm, and to scatter these People who delight in VVar; and would Entail it upon us and our Posterities. Amen.

Wo is me! that I am constrained to Dwell with Mesech, and to have my Habitation among the Tents of Kedar.

If the Lord have Stirred thee up against me, let Him accept an Offering: But if they be the Children of Men, Cursed be they before the Lord: for they have Driven me out this Day from Abiding in the Inheritance of the Lord, saying, Go serve other Gods.

For the Sin of their Mouth, and the Words of their Lips, let them be even taken in their Pride; and for the Cursing and Lying which they speak.

For Thou art He that took me out of my Mothers Womb.

They that sit in the Gate speak against me; And the Drunkards make Songs upon me.

They Grin like a Dog, Run about through the City? and Grudge if they be not Satisfy'd.

But I am Poor and Sorrowful; Let thy Salvation, O God, Set me up on High.

I labour for Peace, but when I speak to them thereof, they make them ready to Battle.

If I have done any such thing, or if there be any Wickedness in my Hands —

But thy Right Hand shall hold me up; And thy loving Correction shall make me Great.

Ten,

Yea, their own Tongues shall make them fall; insomuch that whoſo ſeeke them ſhall laugh them to ſcorn: And all Men that ſee it ſhall ſay, This hath God done; For they ſhall perceive that it is his Work.

N. B. I Deſire that the Caution given in the *New Assoc.* may not be forgotten, That the *Descriptions* There and Here given is of a *Party*, and not of *Persons*. For Allowances muſt be made for the *Prejudices* of *Education*, of *Acquaintance* and *Friendſhip* contracted, which have *Byaſs'd* many *Well-Meaning* and *Good Diſpoſed* Men on the ſide of this, as of other *Wicked Parties*. Which yet cannot quite *Obliterate* the *Native Goodneſs* and *Generoſity* that is in their *Temper*. But it ſtruggles to *Mix* with theſe *Corrupt Principles*, as *Oil* does with *Vinegar*. And the *Party* Endeavour to hide from ſuch all their *Black-ſide*, to *Varniſh* and *Colour* it over with all the *Art* they can; and by *Foul Miſ-representation*, and downright *Lyes* which they impoſe upon *Good-Natures*, who are not apt to *ſuſpect* thoſe of whom they have *Conceiv'd* a *Good Opinion*.

It is for the ſake of *theſe*, as well as of *others*, that I have taken this *Pains*. And I deſire no more of them, than to *Examine* the *Truth* of what I have ſaid; Let them ſee whether the *Faction* can deny plain *Matter of Fact*! And whether the *Inferences* made from thence are not *juſt*! And let them take their *Meaſures* of that *Party* accordingly.

Laſtly, I pray *God* to Deal with me Here and Hereafter, as that I have Wrote this, not upon any *Personal Pique* or *Prejudice* (for I have a *Real Eſteem* and *Value* for *Several* of the *Diſſenters*, and ſome of the *Whigs* too; and no *Personal Quarrel* with any of them) but from a *Senſe* and *thorough Conviction* of the *Perniciouſneſs* of the *Principles* and *Practices*, and the *Bitter Spirit* of that *Party*; Which I do believe many Engag'd among them do not *Know*, but are carry'd away with their *Popular Clamour* and *Fair-pretences*. Let ſuch ſhew themſelves *Men*, to *Examine Impartially*; And then *Judge* as they find.

I *Promiſe* a *Retraction* of whatever point, wherein I ſhall be *Convinced*. And will think it a *Charitable Office* in any who ſhall *Attempt* it. And they ſhall *Receive* my *Thanks*.

F I N I S.

BOOKS Lately Printed.

THE Wolf Stript of his Shepherds Cloathing, in Answer to a late Celebrated Book, Intitul'd, *Moderation a Virtue*. Wherein the Designs of the Dissenters against the Church, and their Behaviour towards Her Majesty, both in *England* and *Scotland*, are laid open; with the Case of Occasional Conformity consider'd, Humbly offer'd to the Consideration of Her Majesty, and Her Three Estates of Parliament. The Fourth Edition; By one call'd an *High-Church-Man*. With my Service to Dr. *Davenant*. Price 1 s. 6 d.

Cassandra (but I hope not) telling what will come of it, Number I. in Answer to the Occasional Letter, Num. I. wherein the New Associations are consider'd. The 2d Edition, Price 1 s.

Cassandra. N. II, &c. Price 1 s. 6 d.

A Vindication of the Royal Martyr K. C. 1st. from the Foul Aspersions cast upon him by *Calamy* in his Abridgement of *Baxter's* Life, being, A Case of Present Concern. Price 4 d.

The Bishop of *Salisbury's* proper Defence from a Speech Cry'd about the Streets in his Name, and said to have been Spoken by him in the House of Lords, upon the Bill to prevent *Occasional Conformity*. Price 1 s.

The Mask of Moderation Pull'd off the Foul Face of Occasional Conformity, being an Answer to a late Poysonous Pamphlet, Intitl'd, *Moderation still a Vertue*; wherein the loose Reasoning and Shuffling Arguments of that Author are plainly laid open and confuted. Price 1 s.

A Description of Princes and their Favourites. Price 3 d.

A Representation of the Lower House of Convocation to the Arch-Bishops and Bishops. The 2d Edition. Price 2 d.

A Letter from a Country Justice of the Peace, to an Alderman of the City of *London*, &c. Concerning the Bishop of *Salisbury's* Speech in the House of Lords, upon the Bill against Occasional Conformity. Price 6 d.

The Rights of the *Church-of-England* Asserted and Prov'd, in an Answer to a late Pamphlet, Intitl'd, *The Rights of the Protestant Dissenters, in a Review of their Case*. The 2d Edition. Price 1 s. 6 d.

The Impudent Babler Baffled, or, the Falsity of that Assertion utter'd by *Bradshaw* in *Cromwell's* new Erected Slaughter-House, namely, that *Charles I.* was no Hereditary, but an Elective King; depending solely on the Votes and Suffrages of the People, Detected and Confuted, by Lawyers, Divines, Historians, Records of Parliament, and Authentick Pedigrees, &c. Price 1 s.

The

The Ax laid to the Root of the Tree; or, a Discourse wherein the Anabaptists Mission and Ministry are Examined and Disprov'd; their Arguments for it Refuted at large, their Grounds of Separation from the Church of *England* demonstrated to be *Slanders*; and the Matter of them justly Retorted upon themselves, as altogether Inconsistent with the Notion of a *Christian Church*, and so creating a Constant and Indelible Prejudice against *Communion* with them. Wherein likewise the *Unity* of the Church, and *Evangelical Priesthood*, are Asserted against them and all other *Sectaries*, of whatsoever Denomination. Price Bound 6 s.

Several Discourses: viz. Of Three Books which teach us the Knowledge of God. Of Justice and Mercy in general. Of Mercy in Relieving the Poor. Of Mercy in Forgiving Enemies, and of Humility. Of the Original of the World. Of the Original and Pedigree of Man. Of the Chief End and Duty of Man. Of God's Command, and of an Universal Repentance. Of the last Judgment. Of the Three different sorts of St. Paul's Auditors. Of the happy State of them that Die in the Lord. St. Paul's Confession of Faith. Of David's Triumphant Hymn. All Preach'd in *Ireland*. By the Right Reverend Father in God, *William Sheridan*, D. D. Lord Bishop of *Kilmore* and *Ardagh*. Price Bound 5 s.

The Reasonableness of a Toleration enquir'd into, purely on Church Principles, in several Letters.

The Case of the Regale and Pontificate Stated, concerning the Interdependency of the Church.

Reflections on the Eleventh Sect. of Dr. *Davenant's* Peace at Home, &c. which concerns Occasional Conformity, In a Letter to a Member of the House of Commons.

Peace and Union, or a Defence of Sir H. Mackworth's Treatise on the Occasional Bill. The Second Edition. With further Considerations concerning the Bill in a Preface.

The Principles of the Dissenters concerning Toleration and Occasional Conformity, with Seasonable Advice to the Dissenters in a Preface.

Sir *Tho. Craig's* Right of Succession against *Doleman*.

The Scripture History of the Sabbath, by Mr. *Grafcomb*, a Presbyter of the Church of *England*.

Excerpts from Ecclesiastical History, with an Account of the *Donatists*, *Novatians*, and *Arians*; to which is added the Deposition of St. *Chrysostom*.